

A PITHIE
EXHORTATI-
ON TO HER MAIES-
TIE FOR ESTABLI-
SHING HER SVC-
CESSOR TO
the crowne.

WHEREVNTO
IS ADDED A DISCOVRSE
containing the Authors opinion of
the true and lauvfull successor
to her Maiestie.

Both compiled by
PETER WENTWORTH

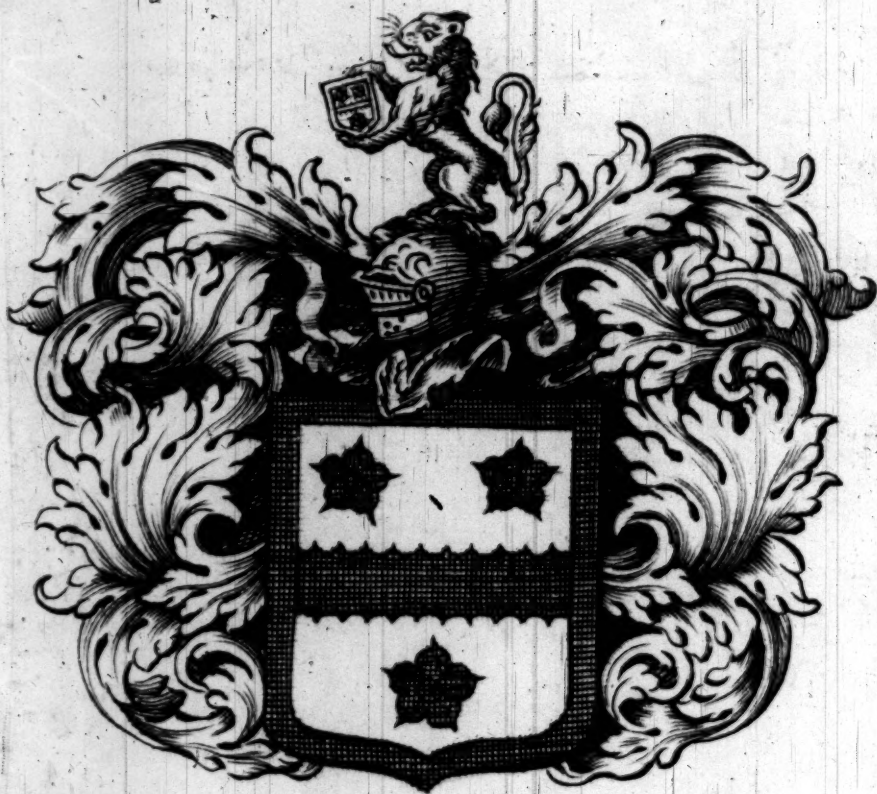
Esquire.

St. Gaude nra Obdiuntia ty Ro: 553

*Prudens Princeps haredem nominando Regno
prospiciet, & si desit filius de successore
serio cogitabit. Ex Spart.*

A wise Prince by naming his heire will provide
for the safetie of his kingdome: and if hee
haue no sonne, he will be the more
carefull to establish his suc-
cessor. Out of Spart.

IMPRINTED. 1598.



*Thomas Foley of Great
Witley Court in the County
of Worcester Esq^r.*

TO THE READER.



GOOD Reader the two Treatises ensuing were written by M. WENTWORTH, whose zealous affection to the preservation of Religion, his Prince & countrie, hath bene made better known to al her Maiesties good subjects, by his patient and constant indurance for so good a cause as he maintained, then it can be by any mans reporte or commendation. In the former (which by the advise of some friends he preferred to her Maies- tie in forme of a supplication) is prooved, that for the safetie of the kingdomes of England and Scotland, and of the Religion professed in them, it is absolutelie necessarie that al the claimes and titles to the crowne of this Realme be tried by Parliament, and that the rightfull successour to her highnesse be declared and confirmed nowe in her Maiesties life-time. I doubt not but every religious and true hearted subiect is of his minde. The latter declaring his opinion concerning the person of the true & lawfull successor, he sent to some privie friends at their instant request; it may seeme strange that hee woulde venture to write it, in respect of these ticklish times, and of his present troubles for a lesser matter: but yet there was strong reasons leading him to doe the same. I haue published them both not so much to procure commendation & praise to the dead, though he iustlie deserue it for his most worthie

To the Reader.

parts, as to worke a due regarde of right and equitie, to the good and behoofe of all my countriemen: and that he whole mouth was stopped from speaking the good which he would when he did liue, might now without danger openlie proclaime the same, (though some would not) after his death. And as he was accustomed to say to his friends, if it bee a duetie required of vs to communicate our knowledge in the meanest matters for mutuall instruction: who in any good conscience can suppress his knowledge in matters so greatly importing every private and publick estate of these Realmes? yea both earthlie kingdomes and the kingdome of Christ. For these respects I haue thought it expedient, that hee who hath spoken in the Parliament with so great regarde and good liking of all the hearers, shoulde nowe as it were with his owne mouth speak to all the subjects of England, seing it is a matter that so greatly concerneth vs all. I haue altered or suppressed no thing in either of them, vnles it be titles and names of persons, & places, & words of courtesie, which were not at al requisite to be knowne. Some things I haue quoted in the margent for thy better vnderstanding, being acquainted with his meaning, and haue also englished some things for the help of the vnlearned. Now for my self (good Reader) I speak my opinion in the trueth of my conscience, that the Scottish King (for any thing I knowe) hath the best right to succede to our gracious and Soveraigne Ladie. Wherein I am the more confirmed for that I know it to be the opinion of some mē, who make as much conscience of their doings, and

To the Reader.

and haue as much wisdome & law in their budgets, as any man whatsoever that is in this land. And to mee it seemeth a thing altogether needlesse, yea voide of common sense and reason, to fetch with so great adoe the branches and pedigrees from William the Conqueror, Edward the first, or Edward the third, and to contend and to dispute a fresh for the houses of Lancaster and Yorke, seeing all good men confesse, that the right must haue beene in the children of Henrie the seaventh, and Elizabeth eldest daughter to Edward the fourth. And if by all our judgements the two titles were in them most happily joined he must be vnhappy, that would seek to dissolue them. We haue paid too deare for pleading broken titles: and other service will please God better, then to purge this land with our bloode for our vnthankfulnesse of all the benefites which wee doe at this present enjoy. But to goe a little further, if her Maiestie had a daughter or sister, I dare be bolde to avouche that none in all Engl. durst presume to speak against her: yet she could not possibly haue any better right or title, I speak of the ground of it, then the heires of the Lady Margaret Teuther may claime by her. For if the right of the brother King Henrie the 8. and his children be good, the right of his eldest sister Ladie Margaret and her heires cannot be badde, & for want of his issue, hers must needs come in. The acts and statutes wrested against the Scottish king, are, in my conceit, by diuerse sufficientlie answered. The inconveniences pretended for barring him, are but suspitions and surmises alledged without any colourable ground, and

To the Reader.

though they were true, yet they were rather to be admitted, then the manifest ruine of the Re-
alms. Finally, I wish thee so to read these treatises
of M. Wentworths, as hee was accustomed to
read other mens, to wit, to yeeld to the reason,
and not to the man, for if he or I be deceived, it is
enough that wee beare the blame of our owne
error, though wee be not also burdened with
thine, and therefore do as thou wilt answer for
it, for I seek thy good, and not to hurt thee. Thus
protesting that with my hart I desire hereby no-
thing more then the preservation and advance-
ment of Religion, the standing of my native
Prince and countrie, and that if I did knowe a
better right then the Scottish kings, I would vn-
fainedlie favour it, I leaue thee for this matter
to the gracious direction of the Almighty.

Fare-well.

Faults escaped in the printing.

Page 3. in the margent, cause, reade offence.
Pag. 6. in the margent, 46. reade 49. Page 11.
Lin. 22. vveighie, reade vveightie. Page 45. Li.
14. discomfort, reade discomfite. Page 52. Lin.
17. perserue, reade preserue. Pa. 83. L. 8. vvhich,
reade vvith. Page 89. L. 3. and, reade adde.

In the second Treatise.

Page 30. Line 3. therevpon, reade therefore
Page 48. L. 5. leadged) are, reade leadged are)
Page 81. L. 8. 7. roote, reade roote). Pag. 75. Li.
12. vp, reade vpon. P. 81. L. 17. lose, reade losse.

AN EXHORTATION
TO HER MA-
JESTIE, FOR ESTABLI-
SHING HER SVCCES-
SOR TO THE CROVVN.

MOSTE high, and mightie Prince, our deare soueraigne & leige Lady, we protest before the Almighty the searcher of all harts, that true and heartie loue, first towards God and his true Religion, secondlie a loyall and dutifull affection towards your highnes person, & preservation: & lastly, a minde, by all lawfull meanes vnfaignedly wishing the good peace & prosperity of this our natie country of England, and no other respectes whatsoeuer, haue moved and stirred vs vp: first to deuise and write, and nowe to offer and deliuer vnto your Ma-
iestie,

The bounden
dutie of a
faithful hear-
ted subiect to
God, his
Prince, and
countrie, is
the cause of
this Treatise.

iestie, this short discourse following. Whereby, though it might be feared we shall incurre your graces displeasure, & are not ignorant that the anger of a Prince is as the roaring of a Lyon, and euen the messenger of death, because it is so said in the Scripture: yet notwithstanding the former respects haue so preuailed with vs, that wee durst not but aduenture thus far: forthough the matter which herein wee labour to perswade you vnto be such, that (by great likely-hood) it wil at the first prouoke you to wrath, and kinde your displeasure towards vs: yet wee nothing doubt, but that we shall make it appeare to bee a thing moſte neceſſarie, profitable, and honorable for your highneſſe to yeeld vnto, both before God and man, and the moſt ſafe meane for your Maieſties preſent preſervation alſo. We therefore preſume, and therewith wee haue encouraged our ſelues, that ſuch is your graces wiſdome and gracious diſpoſition, that (in the end) this our enterpriſe both will be well taken, and fauorable

con-

The know-
ledge of the
ſecond perſon
neceſſarie be-
fore God and
man.

construed. For our consciences beares vs
witness before God, that we aime at no-
thing else herein, but his glory, your safe-
ty, the good of the Church, and profite
of this noble Realm: according to which
our meaning, we humbly craue that all
that we haue written may be expounded.
For as loath are we needlessly and wilful-
lie to offend your Maiestie, as any poore
subiects you haue. But yet you knowe,
such is, or ought to be, the faithfull loue
of euerie true hearted Christian subiect
towards his soueraigne, that feare to of-
fend him may not stay vs from perfor-
ming of a necessarie, profitable, and ho-
norable seruice vnto God, our Prince, &
countrie. Wee beeing therefore perswa-
ded, and fullie resolved, that euen such is
this present (now) tendred seruice of ours
we hope we shall not be blamed of you:
sithence a desire to shewe our selues true
louing and faithfull subiectes to God
and to your Maiestie, hath ouerweighed
with vs all humane feare. Wherefore we,
in the behalfe of all your true and faith-

The writers
purpose most
allowable:

A true subiect
regardeth the
saletie of his
Prince, more
then the feare
of his vnjust
cause.

Meere regard
of conscience
to God, glorie
and the good
of the Prince
hath enforced
the Author
to this dis-
course.

full subiects, do lye euen prostrate before your Graces feete, most humblie and heartilie beseeching your Maiestie, to peruse these fewe leaues following: and as the matter therin handled, is waightie: so to consider accordingly, what we your faithfull and loyall subiects haue therein vttered vnto you. In perusing whereof, this we woulde wishe to be still in your Maiesties minde, that if we, a fewe of the insufficientest of many thousands of your subiects, haue saide thus much, that then very much more it is that can, and may be saide to this end. The Lord of heauen & earth (who hath the harts of al Princes in his hand to rule them as it pleaseth him) so direct in his fauour, your Royall heart herein, that you may reade willingly, marke attentiuely, and performe speedilie and effectually, the wholsome counsell ministred therein vnto you.

THe thinge (most Gracious Soueraigne) which wee and all true English hearts haue long wished, & which
(now)

(now) wee would most gladlie perswade your highnes vnto, is this: That it would please your Grace with all convenient speede in Parliament, to cause all titles and claimes to the Crowne of England after your Maiesties decease, throughlie to be tried & examined: And then forthwith (by sufficient authoritie thereof) to declare and make knowne to your subjects, in whom the right to succede you resteth. Concerning which point, as this discourse is like to want all kinde of eloquence: so also it will want all order and methode. First, we will set downe the reasons and arguments, which, (as we conceiue) ought to moue your Highnes to yeelde heerevnto: which done, wee will confute all the obiections of anie force, which wee can imagine haue beene, or can be made to staye you from yeelding herevnto.

First, we presume that you will easilie yeelde, that it is your duetie to doe that, which God by his written word, hath enioyned all Christian Princes to doe: and

The aime and drift of this book, and the method thereof.

The first argument.
Princes ought to obey God.

Pfal. 81.
Esay 46.23.

What Princes
are to learne
in that they
are called
Gods and nur-
ses by the holy
Ghost.

that therein the setting of the Imperiall Crowne is enioyned to all such Princes, as a most necessarie dutie, plentifully and diuerslie it appeareth. For first, therein it is an vsuall thinge with the holy Ghost, to cal you Princes, Gods, & nursing Fathers and nursing mothers vnto his Church. Which names and titles, as they proue the honorablenesse and lawfulnessse of your high callings, against all Anabaptistickall spirites: so they are giuen you, to teache you your duties, and what you ought to bee towards the people committed vnto your charge: Namely, that your dutie towards them is, to be as gods and naturall fathers and mothers: for the resemblance that is betwixt the office of God towards man his creature, and parents towards their Children, is the ground & certaine cause, why these high names are communicated and giuen vnto you by the spirit of God. Now, who is so simple but he knoweth and wil confesse, that God not onlie careth and provideth for his people for the present time,

time, or some certaine season onlie: but also for all times & seasons. And it is most euident, that nature hath taught parents to think that they do not their duties, vnlesse they proude (not onlie) what they may, for the good of their children whylest they them-selues liue : but also for their wealth and prosperity, to the vttermoste of their powers, after their death. Wherefore, if your Maiestie would bee iustlie honoured with these high and regarde-full titles, and haue right (indeed) vnto them: then you see, that it is not enough for the tyme present, while you your self liue, to prouide for the safetie and welfare of your subiectes, what you may: But also that you are bound to doe what lyeth in you for their peace & safetie, wealth and prosperitie after you bee gone. And how can this be by anie meanes more conueniently, then by yeelding to this motion: yea, if this be not yeelded vnto, (you beeing of that rare wisdom & fore-sight that you are :) you cannot choose but see, that immediatlie after

The conclusion of the first argument ioyned with an exhortation.

your death, there is nothing else to bee looked for, but extreame confusion and subversion of the whole estate of this your noble land. As therefore you are our head, shew your self to haue dutifull care and loue to your bodie, that if you may help it (as by yeelding heerevnto in time you may) you leaue it not headles, as a dead trunk. And seeing God hath ordayned you our nursing mother, wee your children cry vpon you, & most earnestlie beseech you, that by neglecting this motion, you vnnaturallie leaue vs not vnto the evident spoile of the mercilesse bloodie sword. And seing God hath honored you with his owne name, most deare soueraigne, take heed, you doe not vnto him, & vnto your self that dishonor for lack of listning to this counsell, contrary to his wil & nature, to leaue vs your people wittingly & willingly at random, to the rage & furie of hell & helhounds.

But to proceed, secondly in the word it is also written, That hee hath denyed the faith, and is worse than an infidell
that

that prouydeth not for his owne : as
namelie, them of his familie: where, this
word [prouydeth] biddeth not onlie ſuch
(whiles they liue) to prouyde what they
may for the neceſſary good of theirs, du-
ring their owne liues: but alſo, after they
be gone: as reaſon, nature, and experi-
ence hath taught (in al ages) all Chriſti-
an houſholders to take it. Now, what be
your ſubiectes, and al the inhabitantes of
your noble dominions, eſe, but your
Graces Royall familie? Doubtleſſe, you
are the Miſtreſſe, head, & houſholder ap-
pointed of the Lord, to this honourable
familie. And you may not think that the
holie Ghoſt hath thus tied & bound pet-
tie houſholders to care, and to prouyde
thus (euerie way) both for their owne
time, and after, for their ſmall and little
families: and that he leaues ſuch mighty
parents and houſholders as you Princes
be at libertie to prouyde for the good of
your Politique families, but for as long,
and as little a tyme as you liſt. Nay, with-
out all doubt, hee that hath thus taught

Maſters of fa-
milies are
bound to pro-
uyde for their
families after
their death,
therefore the
Queene for
her kingdome.

care and prouision to bee made for the lesse, he would not (in anie case) haue the greater neglected: yea, certaine it is, that seing vnder this penaltie, euerie meane housholder is to prouyde for his familie: much more stronglie, such as you are, be therefore bounde to prouyde for yours. wherfore, to make your successor known, being an especiall meane to prouide for the good of your people, as most certain lie it is, you see by this place that you are bound therunto most strictly, as you are desirous to be counted our Christian Queene and Mistresse, and as you would bee loath to bee accounted of the Lord, one that had denied the faith, & so worse then an infidell: euen so, in no case, you may not omitte this Christian point of prouision for vs.

The 3. argum.
Philip. 4. 8.

Princes are
bound to seek
after things
that be iust, ho

Furthermore, Saint Paule giueth this as a generall rule to all Christians, of what degree soeuer, that they woulde think of, and seek after what things soeuer, are honest, iust, and of good report, to the end that they might practise and per-

performe the same. Of which kinde, to make your successour knowne in manner afore-said, is one: for who can denie, but that it is honest, iust, and of wonderfull good report, for a Christian Queene, to haue that care, and tender loue towards her naturall subiects, as for their peace & tranquillity, and to preuent infinite most euident euils, that otherwise shee seeth they must needes fall into, to establish where, and in whom, the right of succession to the Crowne resteth? Wherefore by this rule of the Apostle you are to thinke of it, and carefullie to go about it. The iustnes of this conclusion wil cleerlie appeare vnto you, if you doe but a little weigh with your self, first how honest a thing it is for you, to seek by such a lawfull meane, to preferue your natural subiects and dominions: secondlie, how iust a thing it is that you should, in this so great and weighie a controuersie, determine in whome the right is. and thirdly, of howe good and honorable report it must needs be, that you therein & there-

nest and commendable, of which sort is this especially to make their successour knowne.

by should shewe your selfe most louing
and carefull ouer all your subiects, in so
honorably prouyding for their good &
safety: both during your owne time, and
after.

The 4. argu-
ment.
The president
of Moses and
Dauid, who e-
stablished
their succes-
sors before
they died.

Moreouer, least you should think, that
wee goe about by these argumentes to
perswade you to that which others of
your place haue not thought themselues
(vpon consideration of the same, or the
lyke arguments) bound to shewe them-
selues mindeful of: may it please you fur-
ther to call to minde, that it is written to
the everlasting commendation of Moses
that famous and first publick governour
of the people of Israell, that hee vnder-
standing that shortlie he should die, and
fore-seeing into what confusion that
people would be brought, if hee should
leauie them without a knowne successor,
made this earnest prayer vnto the Lord,
saying: Let the Lord God of the spirites
of all flesh, appoint a man ouer the con-
gregation, who may go in and out before
them, and lead them out and in, that the

Numb. 27. 16.
29.

con-

congregation of the Lord, bee not as
sheepe without a sheepheard. And that
it may appeare how well this care of his
(to make his successor knowne before he
died) was liked & approued of the Lord,
it followeth immediatlie in the same
place, that the Lord gaue him direction
to appoint Ioshuah, the sonne of Nun,
to be the man. According to which di-
rection, it is recorded also in another
place, that Moses most willingly & faith-
fullie did ordaine him to succeed him.
By this president & good example, Na-
than had a good warrant to moue Bath-
shebah (as the fittest person to make the
motion) to go vnto king Dauid, and to
put him in remembrance of the dange-
rous consequent of not notifying in his
life-time, who should succeed him. Who
beeing therevpon mooued by her to de-
clare who it should be, as it appeareth in
the storie, most readilie and speedilie, in
most solemne manner, caused Salomons
title to be published to be the right, and
the next. And so danger was prevented,
though

Numb. 27. 18.

Numb. 27. 22.
23.
Deut. 31. 7.

1. King. 1. from
the 11. verse
vnto the 41.
verse.

though Adoniah was then vp in armes for it: & olde David went vnto his graue in peace, and the kingdome was establi-
 shed to Salomon his sonne, and most no-
 tably it flourished in his time. There was
 likelie then to haue bene great conten-
 tion about the title of succession amongst
 the sonnes that David had by diuers wy-
 ues: and so great perill to the kingdome
 and subiects of David. The considerati-
 on whereof made David carefull to end
 the controuersie in his life-time. But
 now amongst vs, the contention for the
 crowne, when God hath once taken you
 hence (if by like meanes by you it be not
 preuented) is like to bee amongst the
 children of diuerse families, and therefore
 the more deadlie: and consequentlie the
 more dangerous. Wherefore as the
 state of Iiraell then mooued David to
 make his successor knowne: so nowe the
 state of England ought to moue you: for
 herein, he did but that which Moses ex-
 ample taught him to doe: and there-
 fore that, which as a king he was bound
 to

The compari-
 son of Iiraell
 and England.

to doe. Againe it is euident in the story that the Lord did lyke and allowe of his so doing, and therefore there was obedience therein to the Lordes will: for mans owne will-works, he neuer delighteth in. An example then it is to follow in the like case to all good Kings and Queenes: and as a mirrour, it remayneth still to all such to teache them to doe the like, when like neede requyreth. For whatsoeuer is written in the Scripture, is written for our learning. Think therefore (moste gracious soueraigne) that these facts of Moses and Dauid are thus recorded in the holie storie, not onlie that you should knowe that God his Magistrates thus gouerned: but especially, that hereby you may learne to gouerne to the safetie of your subiectes, as they did. Thus you see, that neither perill to their persons, nor feare of Eclipsing of their owne present honors could stay either of these from gouerning to the safetie of their people: and yet they had sufficient wisdom to foresee what

Application of
the former ex-
amples to her
Maiestie.
Rom. 15. 4.

might befall them that way. And therefore, if it were vertue and obedience to God in them: and so, no worke of supere-rogation, as sufficientlie it hath alreadie appeared: how can it be but a falt and disobedience to his holy will in your Maie-
stie, if (vppon so vrgent and iust occasion as they or euer any Prince had) you re-
fuse to doe as they did?

Further we reade that when Esay the Prophet brought Hezekiah word that he should set his house in order, for that hee should die: that the king wept sore: of which his weeping, S. Augustine vppon Esay affirmeth this to bee the principall cause, that if the he had died, he had died without an heyre apparant. And very well may it be so, for if it had so falne out to his grieve he foresawe, that not onely great calamities and troubles therevpon would haue ensued to his people, but also, that it was some testimonie of the Lords wrath towards him, if in him God should haue ceased from performing his promise to Dauid, of neuer leauing him
with-

Esay. 38. 1. 2.

The fift argu-
ment from the
example of E-
zechiah, who
wept when he
heard that he
should die, be-
caus then
there was no
heire apparant
to succeed
him.

without one to sit on his throne after him: which caused him rather to weepe, then the newes of his death, saith Augustine. And to vse a good prooffe for the truth heereof, this is certaine, that Manasses his heire that succeeded him, was not either borne or begotten when he so wept. For it is said that he was but twelue yeares old when he began to raigne: and Ezechiah vppon his repentance had 15. yeares added to his life, after thus he had wept. Least therefore your Maiesty haue iust cause bitterly to weepe, for the denying of this mercie to your naturall people, euen then, when you woulde moste gladelie haue comfort and consolation: and doe moste ferventlie craue it at the Lords hand: Sweet Ladie, prouide aforehand that there may be one known, who of right is to sit vppon your throne after you, when you be gone to the Lord.

The rather (most noble soueraigne) your Maiestie is to take these examples to heart, and to imitate them: because your owne most noble Father King Hen-

The sixth argument from the example of her Maiesties father, King Henrie the eighth.

Craston pag.
2376.

rie the eight of famous memory, shewed himself, as appeareth not onelic by diuerse statutes made in his time, and by him produced to that end: but also by his wordes (yet in Chronicle) to his great honor and renowne, most carefull & willing to imitate the same: for it is chronicled that hee saide thus in Parliament to his subiects. When wee remember our mortalitie, and that we must die, then do we think that our doings in our life-time are cleerlie defaced, and worthie of no memorie, if wee leaue you in trouble at the time of our death: for if our true heire be not knowne at the time of our death, see what mischief and trouble shall succede to you and your children. Marke (gracious Queene) your deare father in his wisdom fore-saw wonderfull miseries immediatlie and directlie arising, from his leaving of his subiectes without succession knowne, and established: and that of his compassion and commiseration that therein hee had of his naturall subiectes, hee was a prouoker of them, that therein:

therein sufficient order might bee taken, to preuent it. Marke also, that hee contented not himself with ruling of them well, and protecting of them in safetie & peace whilest hee himself liued: but that his care for them stretched to their children & childrens children. God (for his Christs sake) grant your grace to proue his naturall childe heerein. But that it might appeare, that vppon sound aduise and good experience he had spoken the former words, he addeth a dole-full president, saying vnto his Nobles: The experience whereof some of you haue heard, what mischief and man-slaughter continued in this Realme betwixt the houses of Yorke and Lancaster: By which dissention, this Realme had like clearlie to haue bene destroied. O Christian and sweet words, worthie such an heroicall and mightie Potentate of the world: truly, worthy to be written in letters of gold and alwaies to be carried and drawne in a Table before the eies of all his successors to the worldes end: for though the

things done by him in his life-time, for the good of his people, were manie and great, euen such as ought neuer to be forgotten: yet see, he counted al them clearlie defaced, and worthie of no memorie, if before his death (to prevent the mischiefs that otherwise would ensue to his subiects) hee did not make knowne vnto them, who of right ought to succcede him: yea, it seemeth by his speech that he was of opinion, (as indeed it may be well gathered) that all the euils that came to this Land by the dissention of the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster (whiche were infinite) arose even hence, that ther had not sufficient care bene taken to mak publiklie knowne, and to establish the right of succession: and it seemeth also, that he feared no lesse evils to ensue after him, if hee (in his life-time) shewed not himself carefull in this point. And trulie, Madam, we think there is none that duly considereth in what termes the title of the crowne after you standeth nowe amongst vs, but he presentlie seeth, that if

it

The lamentable euils that befell this land by the dissention of the houses of Yorke and Lancaster proceeded hence, that the right of succession was not cleared and established.

The application and enforcing of this example of K. Henry 8. to her Maiestie,

it were so dangerous then when your father vttered these words, he hauing then issue of his owne bodie to leaue the Realme vnto, without further determination & declaration of his right heire: that it cannot, but be far more dangerous for you, nowe to leaue it quyte without establishment, to whomsoever can catch it. The fore-sight of mischief to ensue, by reason of not making knowne in his life his certain heire apparant, was reason of sufficient waight and force to moue, incline, and to binde your noble fathers heart (notwithstanding he could foresee, and forecast as wiselie as anie the reasons to the contrarie) to bee most forward to determine it: & therefore so should you his naturall daughter and heire do vpon the like ground, and bee therein likewise affected. Otherwise you see (your owne father being your iudge) that al your noble acts done in your lifetime are not onlie blemished, but also clearlie defaced, and worthy of no memorie. It is glorious for you to bee the daughter and heire of

so noble a king, in so noble a kingdome:
but trulie farre more glorious to bee also
his naturall daughter and true heire, in
his princelie affection towards your sub-
iects. And therefore as you are his natu-
rall daughter and true heir in the one, so
shewe your self to bee as naturall also in
the other.

**The 7. argu-
ment from
the examples
of the hea-
then.**

The heathen
by the light of
nature did see
this duty to
be necessarie,
and perfor-
med the same
to their sub-
iects: much
more ought
Christian
Princes to do
the same.

Thinke not (moste deare soveraigne)
that this was anie singularitie in your fa-
ther, and that you may doe well enough
though you be not like him therein: for
besides that therein he did but as the ex-
amples of Moses and David taught him,
and bound him to do: he did that which
verie nature it self vsuallie hath taught e-
ven heathen Princes from time to time
to doe. For we reade that it was an vse a-
mongest the Medes and Persians, when
they went but forth to battel (therein be-
ing some danger of their life) before they
went, to make knowne who shoulde suc-
ceede them: insomuch, that the better to
make him knowne, he was appointed to
raigne in the stead of the Prince absent,

untill his returne, as was Cambyfes, in
the rowme of Cirus, whilest hee went to
warre against the Scythians: and Darius
long-hand, in the rowme of Xerxes, whi-
lest he warred against the Greeks. Hence
also it came, that wee reade that the Ro-
mane Emperours when otherwise their
successor was not known, did in their life-
time adopt them heires, to whome by
order of that gouernement, they caused
the right to succeede them to be establi-
shed. Thus Iulius Cæsar adopted Octa-
vius Augustus, and hee Tiberius Cæsar.
Nerua, Traian. Adrian, Antoninus Pius:
and hee againe Antoninus Philosophus.
And for further prooffe of the force of
the light of nature, yet remaining in a
meere naturall man to teach him this
lesson: it is written in Chronicle that the
Emperour Tiberius Cæsar a little before
his death. said: That of all the griefs and
troubles that the greuous pangs of death
brought with it, this greeved & troubled
him most, how to preserve the kingdome
committed to him of trust: and also to see

Suetonius.

Dion.

*Spartia-
nus.*

the inheritance thereof conueied vnto him, to whome of right it did appertain: concluding with these words, This is the dutie of a king. Oh what a strange thing were it then for a Christian Prince, hauing not onelie light of nature, but also the light of the word shining vnto her to direct her heerevnto: if (all examples both diuine and humaine, forraine and domesticall, of all ages and times provoking also therevnto) she should not, or would not suffer her self to bee drawne vnto this Christian dutie: trulie, strange it were: yet (God forbid) but that wee should conceiue verie good hope, and ere it be long, see and vnderstand according to our hope, that we your subiectes shall finde you willing, for your and our good to deale effectually heerein, and that speedilie.

Howbeit, yet the better to hasten you to this resolution, that wee to our comforts may see the effects thereof: First, let your pitifull and merciful heart enter into consideration of the miserable state,
that

that you shal leaue(euerie way) your dominions and subiects of all sorts in, if you should bee translated hence to the Lord, before you haue yeelded vnto this present motion, and effected it. Whereof, when we thinke, wee may tremble everie iointe. For when that day shall come, (which God for his mercies sake put far off, and graunt that wee neuer see) then straight al the competitors and their partakers wil bee vp in armes: and the common people that are not acquainted with their titles, will then of necessitie be at their wits end, not knowing what part to take: and yet some they shal be driven to followe: so that presentlie, the whole Realme wil be rent into as many shivers, as there be competitors, at the least. And thus, while the title to the crowne is in trying in the fielde by the dint of bloodie sword, one part will consume & deuoure another, and so the land is like to be euerie way so weakned, that it may easily become a praie to any of our forraine malicious enemies. Oh the riuers of blood,

The 8. argument is the avoyding of manifold calamities like to ensue her Maiesties death, if the successor be not before knowne & established

The lamentable miseries of civil warre.

which then by these doleful consequents will ouerflowe euery where this noble Island, the strong men shall be flaine in the fieldes: children and infants murthered in euerie towne, honest matrons & maides euerie where ravished: then also strong holdes shall bee razed and burned with fire: faire buildings in cittie and countrie defaced, & made even with the ground, the riche shall not bee able to say, this is mine: but they aswell as the poore, shall think themselves happy, if they may haue their life for a praie. To bee short, then, then alas, all the mischiefes that the mischeevous wit of man can deuise, will be practised amongst your louing subiectes by one towards another without contrement. For all the bandes of all good order and Policie will then be broken asunder: Religion, and all the good exercises thereof, will be laid in the dust, with small hope of euer ryfing vp againe: and neither God nor man will be regarded, but (according to the variable suggestions of Satan) all kinde of villanies wil be free lie:

freelie in euerie corner committed. Oh
therfore, but once to think that this land
is like to come to these woful calamities,
will teare anie godlie, pitifull, or natural
English hart in peeces. Beholde there-
fore (most gracious Ladie) your Nobles
& Commons, yea, euen all your people,
men, weomen, and children, lye prostrate
now before your feete, most lamentably,
& humblie beseeching you to saue them,
and to preferue them from these heapes
of confusions, and chaos of miseries: and
most instantlie with bitter teares, beg at
your handes, that you leaue them not,
(who are now most readie to lay downe
their liues for you) in this lamentable &
miserable case, to lose their liues with all
that they haue: and all, at the beck and
pleasure of euerie furious peasant. Re-
member, that Moses tooke the people
without a certaine knowne head and go-
vernour, as sheepe without a sheep-herd,
and that your most noble father fore-saw
that no better then the fore-rehearsed ca-
lamities, would be the state of this land, if

hee had died before hee had made his heire knowne: yea, that hee imputed all the miseries that this land had abode, through the contention betwixt the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster, to this: to wit, that the order & right of successiō, had not bene (in former time) carefullie enough looked vnto, & made publickly knowne. And so you may perceiue that herein we doe not forecast more perils, then these wise and graue persons haue done in the like case. Yet for further ground of this our fore-casting of perils, the whol booke of the Iudges of Israēl serueth most fitlie: for through that booke we see, how that when soeuer they were left without a knowne gouernour (as in those times they were often) they fell into extreame miseries, & were straight brought into flauerie vnder the hands of their enemies, the Cananites, the Moabites, the Midianites, the Amalekites & Philistins: in which state sometimes they continued 18. yeeres, sometimes 40. yeeres: sometimes more, sometimes lesse. Wee reade

alio

That calamities doth befall any nation where the Prince dieth without a knowne successor proued by the example of the Israēlites. The booke of Iudges.

also that Alexander the great, when hee had made himself the greatest Emperor in the world, yet dying, not determining of his successor before hee died, but leaving his noble Empire to them that could catch it, and hold it: that therevpon, immediatly after his death, there grew most hote, fierce & bloodie warres amongst his noble Dukes & Captaines: and so in the end, his kingdome or Empire was rent and torne into as manie severall kingdomes, as he had noble Dukes able to take them, and keep them. Wee read also in the Scottish Chronicles of Alexander the third king there, who lived in the time of Edward the first King of England: that hee dying, leaving his heire and successor vnknowue, it came to passe, that vppon his death his kingdome was torne into two parts, the one part following one Bayllioll studied to make him King: and the other fauoring one Bruffius, sought to advance him. But in the meane time, whiles thus the title was in debating, it appeareth in the storie,

Of Alexander's empire.
Arrianus.

Q. Curtius.

Of Scotland
after Alex. 3.

And of Eng-
land after Lu-
cius and Gor-
bodug.

that the whole kingdome was brought to extreame desolation. But what need we (in this case) to peruse forrain stories. O that your Maiestie would but remember the miserable state of this land after King Lucius, and after the death of King Gorbodug and his two sonnes, Ferrex, and Porrex: for you shall in those hystories finde, that the root and fountaine of all those lamentable miseries of 15. and 50. yeares civill dissension, grewe of this: that then, the land was left without a certain known successor. Yea, infinite be the stories in all Chronicles, that lay forth most doleful sequels alwaies of this. And sure wee are, such is your Maiesties wisdom, that you must needs fore-see that if you should so leaue vs, it wer neuer more likely, that thervpō would follow the extreamest miseries that euer befell kingdome. Wherefore once again (most mercifull Lady) cast your pitifull & merciful eies vpon your noble Realme, & all your subiectes, who with stretched out hands cry vnto you to shewe mercie vnto them

In this point: in delaying no longer to the hazard of the ſpilling of all their bloode, and loſing all their good, to make knowne vnto them, who of right is to ſucceede you. O ſweete Ladie, let this long longed for, and looked for moſt neceſſary drop of mercie, drippe nowe at laſt downe from you, to the chearing and comforting of all your true Engliſh ſubiects: and ſo ſhal you eſtabliſh your throne in mercie, and purchaſe vnto your ſelf, the moſte glorious title of a moſt mercifull Queene, to the comfort of your owne conſcience, both before God and man, and to your perpetuall good name and fame with all poſteritie.

But to prouoke you the more eaſilie to yeeld to ſhew this eſpecial point of mercy, conſider yet further, that ſo to do, is not onlie verie neceſſarie, both for you & vs, in reſpect of both our ſafeties: and alſo that it is not onlie profitable to vs, but alſo euen very profitable and honorable to you, both in reſpect of God & man. That it is verie neceſſarie and profitable for vs,

The 9. argument is from the ſafety, honor and profit which will enſue the eſtabliſhing of a ſucceſſor both to her maieſty and to her ſubiectes.

the contemplation of the good that wee shall reape, and quyetlie enioye by it: and the viewe of the euill that directlie shall therby be turned from vs, maketh it most euident. And that it is necessary for you also, yea profitable & honourable, as we haue said, diuersly it may appeare: for first it cannot be denyed, that amongst all the meanes that otherwise Princes haue amongst men in this world, to make themselves strong by, and to sit safe in their throne, this is a principall one. That they alienate not the hearts of their subiectes from them, by their vnkinde and mercielesse dealing towards them. For howe stronglie soever Salomon left his sonne Rehoboam established in his kingdome: yet hee, by listning rather to the counsell of young greene heades about him, then to the advise of the graue and auncient: and so by his vnkinde and hard answere to his subiects, alienating the heartes of them: grew so weak, that a mean man, a servant of his, Ieroboam by name, rose vp against him, and ten Tribes of twelue, farre

Princes that would establish their thrones must deale kindly with their subiectes, & plant in their hearts love and affection.

1. King. 12.

farre the greater part of his kingdom, revolted from him, & did cleaue to Ieroboam: and neither hee nor anie of his successors, could euer recouer them againe. And on the other side, there is no one thing in the foresaid respect more necessarie, profitable, and honorable to anie King, Queene, or Emperour, then so to behaue themselves towards their subiects, as that thereby, there may bee bred and nourished in them, an heartie & vnfeined loue and affection towards their soveraigne. For by this meanes chieflie, Princes grow strong and invincible, for thereby they finde, that not the bodies onlie of their subiects be theirs at commandement, but their harts also. And when occasion serues, by experience they learne that the heartie good-will and liking of their subiects towards them, is a farre better and stronger meane of their preservation, then either riches, strong holdes, or any such outward thing whatsoever, as lately your Maiestie hath had good experience thereof.

Anno 1588.
when the Spanish fleet was
in the narrow
Can.

And therefore in all stories it appeareth, that those kings that haue carried a-
nie note of wisdom, haue alwaies studi-
ed most carefullie for the heartie loue of
their subiects. Now then, seeing the not
making your successour known, is a mat-
ter of such dangerous and perilous con-
sequent to all your good and kinde sub-
iects: and the establishing of succession,
the verie ordinarie meane to prevent
these dangers and perils towards them,
and also to continue your subiectes and
their children in quiet and peace-able
possession of all the good things they
now enjoy: your wisdom may easilie
conceiue, that there is no one thing
whereby you can more greeue, daunt, &
alienate the hearts of all your subiects, then
by not going about to prevent their de-
structions, by making your successour
known. For that will cause them to think,
that you love them no farther, then for
your owne safetie sake: for that (in not
doing thereof) you shal shewe your self
carelesse what shal become of them af-
ter

ter your time: which thing, of what force it will bee to abate their hartie and true loue and affection towards you, your wisdom will easilie ghesse. And you may also heereby perceiue, that there is no readier way to binde your subiects more tenderly to loue, and reverence you even in their secrete chambers: and so to bee readie most willinglie rather to die themselves in your quarrell at all times, then that anie danger or perill should come neere you: then forth with in Parliament to cause this great controversie lawfully to be determined and so the right of succession made publikely known. For heereby your subiects cannot but see that you loue them, even for their owne sakes, and that you loue them tenderlie and vnfainedlie: yea, this wonderfull mercy and kindnes would make them in al thankful manner, to acknowledge and confesse, that you had not onelie by this meanes preserved them from all the fore-saide evils: but that you had also by this godlie meanes, even giuen them againe their

liues, their wiues, their children, their lands, their goods, and their countrie: yea, & that which is most pretious therewith, the fruition of the glorious Gospel of Iesus Christ. Which two-folde good would so inflame their heartes towards you, that never Prince had more loving and heartie subiectes, then your Grace should haue. Doeth it not then follow, that it is necessarie, profitable and honorable for your owne self to yeelde to this motion? Againe, necessarie it is, because otherwaies you take the onelie high way to abate the loue of all your faithfull subiects, which is most necessarie for you to haue: especiallie, these dayes and times considered, when you haue so manie enemies both at home, and abroad: secrete, and publike. Profitable also it is, in that wonderfullie, it will strengthen the heartie good-will and loue of your subiectes towards you, which will be at all times a most strong meane of defence & refuge for you, against all your enemies. And how can it choose but bee very honorable

ble vnto you to do so honorable, profitable, and necessarie a thing vnto your self, your people, and countrie? Further, the truth heereof may and will more clearly appeare vnto you, if it fall out (as most likelic it will) that the right of succession be found and declared to bee in a Protestant: for then, not onelie be that meanes should you make the harts of euerie true Protestant like the heart of a Lyon, ready and courageous at al assaies to performe the dutie of faithfull subiectes: but you should so break the neck of the Popes hope of their golden day, that the despair thereof would presently cause most of them (in reverence bee it spoken vnto your Maiestie) either to hang, or conforme themselves: and the rest would also giue over all detestable practises against your noble person: yea, they would be glad to pray with vs, & to vse all good meanes with vs for your preservation. Great reason may moue it: for they will feare, least it will bee much worse with them when you are gone, vnder your suc-

He meaneth
the king of
Scots.

cessor, then it is nowe vnder your so happy gouernement. And therefore we may now conclude, that to make your successor knowne, is a thing moste necessarie, profitable, and honorable for your self.

But wee said it was necessarie, profitable and honorable also in respect of God or before him. And this may be most easilie and stronglie prooued: for besides that al the reasons that hitherto we haue vsed, doe proue the same: wee say confidently now further: first, it is necessarie for Princes aswell as for others to doe those things that are pleasing and acceptable to God: and therefore, when they shall sit vppon the throne of their kingdoms, they are commanded to haue the booke of God, and to studie it, & not to departe there-from either to the right hand, or to the left: and they are willed, yea, they namelie, especiallie to bee wise and learned, and to shewe their learning and wisdom in serving the Lord in feare. And that this is a thing both pleasant & acceptable to God, we neede not proue

it againe: for we haue alreadie proued it sufficientlie both by reasons and renowned examples: and therefore in this respect, it is necessarie before God. Secondly, that also it is profitable before him, heereby it is evident: for it is a thing (indeede and truth) alwaies most profitable for Princes to obey the will of God: and most hurtfull and vnprofitable to refuse so to doe: for it is written Plaine the 2. verse 12. as vttered to Kings. Kisse the Sonne least he bee angrie, and so yee perish out of the way, if his wrath bee kindled, yea but a litle. And wee read that God said vnto Eli, a governour of Israel, Then that honour mee, I will honour: & they that despise mee, shall bee despised. And we read that Azariah the Prophete said vnto King Asa: The Lord is with you whiles yee are with him, and if yee seeke him, hee will bee found of you: but if yee forsake him, he will forsake you. This is a caveat, even to Princes: for a praeside it therof, Saul to his woe, and David to his ioy had experience. And diuerse was the

No surmise of
harts to ensue
or hope of pur
chasing gaine
should draw
vs from that
which is right
and equitie
before God

1. Sam. 2. 30.

2. Chro. 15. 2.

successe of King Salomon , and of king
 Asa prosperous whiles they followed the
 way of the Lord: but desperat, when they
 went from them. At a word, al the Kings
 of Israell and Iudah did alwaies (as it ap-
 peareth in the holie storie) finde this
 most true, that it was alwaies most profi-
 table for them to obey the Lord, and to
 doe whatsoever hee would haue them.
 This setling of the succession that we are
 therefore now moving you vnto, being a
 thing (as doubtlesse it is) which the Lord
 of dutie requireth at your handes, and
 which you haue heard proved so to bee,
 both by places of Scripture, examples
 out of the same, and sundrie other strong
 reasons: you are to resolute with your self
 (whatsoever the wit of man can say to
 the contrarie) that it will be most profi-
 table vnto you to yeeld to the Lord, both
 speedie and willing obedience therein.
 As long as you walke in his waies, hee
 hath given his Angels charge over you,
 that you shall not hurt your feet against
 a stone: and therefore, in this you neede
 not

not to be afraide. You remember, we are
sure, that the Lord hath said in his word,
That by him Kings raigne: and that it is
written, that hee sitteth amongst you
Gods, and iudgeth you: yea, that he is so
King of kings and Lord of Lords, that he
setteth vp and throweth downe, whom,
when, and how it pleaseth him.

Proverb. 8. 19
Psal. 82. 1.

Dan. 4. 35

Wherevpon your Grace may per-
ceave, that the moſte ſafe and profitable
way for you to preſerue your perſon and
honour, is by all good meanes to keepe
this King of Kings on your ſide. He that
hath a good ſarme, and hath none other
holde thereof, but at his land-lords plea-
ſure, the beſt policie for him wee woulde
think, is, to pleaſe his land-lord. And this
is the caſe, Madame, betwixt you and
God, in reſpect of your kingdome. Wee
muſt needs therefore even of hartie good
will, and of aboundance of deſire that we
haue, that you may long raigne over vs,
beſeech your Maieſtie, to weigh with
your ſelfe whether it bee not likelie, that
this your land-lord and ſoveraigne iudge

A ſimilitude
enforcing her
Maieſtie, by
naming her
ſucceſſor to
obey God

will be angrie with you, and lay to your charge one day, all the blood that shall bee shed, and all the evils that shall bee committed in this land, for want of a knowne successor, if you doe not what lieth in you in time by making him know to prevent al those dolefull cruelties that will ensue thereof. Even the light of nature coulde teache the heathen Philosopher Cicero to write in his Offices, that hee is as well faultie, that letteth not the doing of an evill or iniurie, being able to let it, as he that doth it himself. Oh provoke not the Lord (sweet Ladie) even in respect of safetie and profite to your self, to bee offended with you, for this your great unkindnes towards him. Remember, that in respect of the present dangerous and evill dayes that we now liue in, and in regarde of our enemies, neither you nor we had ever more cause to seeke to please him, and to keep him on our side. Hitherto, never Prince had more cause, then you: nor subiects in respect of their Prince, then we, to confesse that if
he

he had not beene on our side, our enemies. long ere this, had swallowed vp both you and vs: for it is he that hath discovered, yea, detected and confounded all the devises and conspiracies(hitherto) of your enemies and ours: it is he that giveth vs peace at home, and victories abroad. It is he that doeth keepe all evils from vs, & continueth al good things vnto vs. And if he continue on our side stil, we need not to be afraide whosoever bee against vs, for hee both can and will protect vs, and confound them. Then, an hundreth on our side shall discomforte a thousand: and the weakest meanes shall bee strong enough to withstand and to prevaile against the mightiest, as the holie stories doe most comfortablelie teache vs. But if hee bee occasioned to departe from vs, and leaue vs to our selves, then al things shall and will fall out cleane contrarie with vs, as there wee learne also. Assure your self therefore, that to shewe your self a merciful Queene to your subjects in this so waightie a point, and this

work of great mercie & loue, the which
all your people craue with teares, added
vnto your former good services of God:
it will binde God in his mercie (for his
promise sake) not to flake, or withdrawe
his moſte mercifull protection from you:
but to enlarge his fauour everie way to-
wards you. Bee hartilie ſorie therefore
(good Prince) that you haue not bene
provoked by his marvelous former pro-
tection of you from evident dangers, ma-
nie and fundrie times, to ſhewe your ſelf
thankfull vnto him, in performing this ſo
neceſſary and profitable a dutie, ere this.
Think not becauſe (as yet) he hath ſpared
you, and not called you to accompt for it
that therefore he miſliketh it not: for his
long ſuffering muſt bee conſtrued to a-
mendement: or elſe, it is an heaping of
vengeance, againſt the day of vengeance.
They are but flatterers, doubtleſſe, who-
ſoever they be, & ſo ſhall you finde it in
the end, that would perſwade you other-
wiſe: neither can they bee, (the premiſſes
conſidered) either ſound friends to their
coun-

country, or loving ſubiects to you, which either haue bred or nourished in your Royall heart, an vnwillingnes to yeelde to this moſte neceſſarie and profitable motion.

But to grow to an end of this our firſt part: laſtly wee advouche, that to yeelde your beſt furtherance to make your ſucceſſor knowne, is an honorable action, both before God & man. It is honorable for you before man, becauſe as it is your ſubiectes dutie to yeelde you all loue and dutifulnes, to the preſervation of your noble perſon and eſtate: ſo it is your duty againe to yeelde vnto them protection for them & theirs by what good meanes you may: amongſt which, this is a principall good meane. And who can denie, but that it is honorable for a Prince, not to be behind with his ſubiects in any dutie, eſpecially then, not in this, which is ſo neceſſarie and profitable for them: nay we are ſure, you your ſelfe will confeſſe, that it were verie diſhonorable for a Prince to looke for, and willinglie & wit-

Princes are no leſſe bound to protect their ſubiects, then ſubiects are bound to obey their Princes.

tinglie to receive at the hands of his subjects, all tokens & fruits of perfect loyall love and to requite them withal. to leave them all for want of a knowre successor to extreame confusion and desolation. And seeing there ought to bee such true love indeede, and such true mercie extended on your part, even towards them towards whome it is due in equity, as certainlie it is in you to your subjects, even in making your successor known: it cannot be but that so to doe, before the Almighty, who is the fontaine of al true love, and delyteth more in true mercie, then in any other thing, it is a thing most honorable for you so to doe. Wherefore to conclude, you see that your titles given you in the word, that your place & charge over vs as your familie, that the honestnes, iustnes and the goodnes of the report that it carrieth with it that the examples both sacred & profane, forraine and domesticall: that the miseries otherwise like to ensue vpon the whole land: and nowe lastly, that the necessarines, profitablenes
and

The conclusion of the former part of this book, containing a breefe recapitulation of the reasons before set downe.

and honorablenesse of the thing it selfe,
both with God and man, to your self, as
wel as vnto vs: ioine hands together, ear-
nestlie to moue and stirre vp your Maie-
stie, to yeeld vnto vs this dutifull mercie.
Now then, these reasons considered, wee
may say vnto you, and doe, as Bathsheba 1. Reg. 1. 20.
saide in the like case to king Dauid. You
our Soueraigne Ladie knowe, that the
eyes of all England are on you, to the end
that you should tell them who should sit
on your throne after you. God grant that
England may find that kind and melting
heart in your maiesty, whereby they may
receiue as comfortable an answere from
you, as Israell did then from Dauid.

But these reasons notwithstanding, yet
your Maiestie will say, or think; that such
is the difficultie of determining this
great controversie, who of right is to
succeed you: and such perill there is in it
to your person and honor, that the consi-
deration thereof cannor but make you a-
fraide & some-what loath to go about it.
Wherefore we beseech you, let now the

The latter
part of this
treatise, con-
taining an-
swers to cer-
taine obiection-
s arising
from difficulty
of knowing, &
perill in na-
ming the
knowne suc-
cessor.

The difficulty
consisteth of
two parts.

The obiection
of the former
difficultie ta-
ken away, be-
cause the right
of the title is
plaine and
easie to the
skilfull.

obiections that arise from these two hea-
des, of difficultie, and perill, bee heard,
weighed and examined: that so it may
the easilier be determined, whither your
Grace ought to yeelde to the setting of
the succession by force of the former rea-
sons, or to stay from so doing through
the weight of these. The difficultie of de-
termining this point, ariseth partlie of
the doubtfulnesse and ambiguitie of the
title it self, and partly of the supposed im-
patency of the Competitors, in hearing
their titles crost, in debating, and spoken
against. To this we answer: first, that the
obscuritie and difficulty of the title it self
by the wise and skilfull in the Lawes of
this Realme, will as easilie bee removed,
as the drosse is severed from the gold, by
the skilfull finers: or as the bright shi-
ning of the sunne doth cause the cloudes
to vanish and flee away. Indeede, as it
cannot be descried how much gold is in
the lump before it come to the hands of
the finers: and as the sunne, though it bee
(indeed) the moste excellent ornament
of

of the firmament is not seene in his bew-
tie,whiles it is shadowed with clouds: e-
ven so in this case,vntil the baser titles be
descried and severed from the purest, by
the skilfull learned: and the clouds wher-
with the best title is darkened, removed
by them: it is hard either to espie the
right,or to determine of it. But grant that
it bee never so hard and difficult to de-
termine who hath the best right: yet,
it beeing so great a point of equitie and
iustice,as it is, that he should haue the ti-
tle that hath best right vnto it: & it being
(also) as it is an especiall & chief point of
exceeding mercifull iustice, the which
of all others,as we haue proved, you the
soveraigne and high Iudge and minister
of iustice amongst vs, are bound to see
iudged: both in respect of your dutie to
God,& your people: you may not think,
that the hardnes to performe such a du-
tie,can breed anie exception, or dispen-
sation vnto you, to exempt you from go-
ing about it: but it ought (rather) to force
you the more speedilie and throughlie to

The difficultie of the title ought to bee so farre from being a barre, that it ought rather to provoke her Maiestie to the searche thereof.

The second branch of difficultie answered.

take it in hand: for the more hard and doubtful it is, so much it is the more dangerous. And therefore, the more care ought they to haue that stand at the helme. Now, as for the supposed impatiencie of the Competitors, while the title is in debating, and the dangerous consequents therof, alleadged to proue such difficultie therein: as that therefore it were not safe and good for you to deale in it, least so the inconvenience of civill warre might arise in your daies, which we labour so much by moving you here-vnto, to prevent after your death: we answer: first, that there is no Comperitor so voide of reason, but he is resolved that some one hath the most and best right. Secondlie, hee cannot but in his conscience be perswaded that whosoever he be both reason and iustice would that hee should haue it. And lastlie, we say that it is verie vnlikelie that there can grow anie impatiencie, especiallie, likelie to breede anie great danger, either to your state or person: when that (in a lawfull

Par-

Parliament) everie man shall indifferentlie be heard to say what he can for his title: and onelie inquirie is made, where the best right is, to the end that there it may bee settled and established. For thus may everie one of them see, that there is no in-iustice or iniurie intended against anie of them, but the right is only sought out, to be given to the rightfull owner: & that therefore, none hath anie iust cause to be offended, but rather every one hath good cause to be glad and ioyfull thereof: for that both his person and posterity shalbe preserved thereby. And yet if anie such impatiencie should appeare, without anie great difficultie might it be staied by you in your life time, from bursting out into anie dangerous effect. Whereas, if you shoulde depart from vs before the determining of this wofull question: then, there woulde bee none amongst men to stay the furie thereof, but the bloodie and devouring sword. Oh, most dolefull iudge. Allas, what can anie ambitious competitor be able to doe to

perill your state or person, seeing his title dashed, or put further of then he looked for, albeit hee were never so impatient, you raigning and living: yea, you having also by entring into this so honorable an action, made your selfe mightilie much stronger by your iust deserving, then ever you were before: as wel in pleasing god, as by binding not onely him & his, whose title you haue cleered: but also all your subiects to loue you at their hearts, most deerlie: and therefore, to backe you against all dangers, most couragiousslie & faithfullie. No, no, there will be none of them (if you take this course) but they will evidentlie see thereby, that you and your freends are grown so strong, that for anie of them to burst out of due order, were but even willinglie to bring vppon them-selves and their families, vtter destruction. Adonijah was vp in armes for the crown, when his father David lay on his death bed: and hee had gotten Ioab, the mightiest captaine of Israell, and Abiathar the high Priest on his side: and yet

yet when David had (according to the order of the government) settled & established Salomon to succeed him: though before Adonijah was grown to strength, and so by possibilitie able to haue withstood both his father David and Salomon, yet, when he heard thereof, he and al his partakers were so dasht and crusht, that everie one straight ranne home to his house: and Adonijah himselfe tooke sanctuary: and so this broile notwithstanding, David continued out his time in peace, and Salomon his sonne reigned manie yeares triumphantlie after him. Howe much more, if Queene Elizabeth yet in health and prosperity, doe once by this orderlie meane establish the succession, will all aspiring Adonijahs, howe strong soever they haue made themselves before, stay from beginning to doe, as Adonijah did: least they bee inforced with shame, as he was, to giue over straight againe. Let this example encourage you (most noble Queene) not to bee afraide of the crossing and disappointing (in this

case) of all the proud Adonijahs in the world: for no doubt of it, if you do herein seeke to please God, and benefite all your subiects, as he did, God beeing the same nowe that hee was then, you may confidentlie look for the same blessing at his hands, that David had: that is, peace in your owne daies, and for ever after wealth and prosperitie to all your dominions after you.

Now, this obiection drawne from the difficultie of determining this matter, thus answered: let vs nowe proceede to the rest, which are grounded vppon the perill (heerby) supposed to ensue to your noble person and dignitie. And concerning your person first it is feared, that the knowne successor, partlie through his owne longing after the highest place, & partlie through the provocation of others, will breede perill to your person. And it is likelie, that (in this respect) your feare is encreased by your owne experience, in your sisters time, when it may be, you were provoked by some to hasten
your

The obiection
grounded vpon
perill of
naming of the
successor, confirmed
by 3. reasons.

1.

your course. Another feare may growe
also, by the fundrie examples of these
Princes, as namelie, of Edward the se-
cond, deposed by Edward the third, King
Richard the second, by Henry the fourth.
Henrie the sixt, by Edward the fourth.
And of Edward the fift, murthered by Ri-
chard the third. And, as for your honour
and dignitie, perhaps you imagine (your
successor once knowne) it will every day
more and more decay: in that, as you
know it to be a proverb, that men honor
the sunne rising, and withdrawe it from
the sunne setting. Even so you think, sub-
jects are given naturallie to prefer their
new maister, before their olde mistresse.
These haue bene the cheef causes & rea-
sons, that (hitherto) haue staied you fro
listning vnto this motion, as we suppose,
and (yet) make you afraide to yeelde
therevnto.

Before wee come to the answere to
these obiections, which (in effect) we do
thinke are al that can be vsed in this case,
wee protest vnto your Maiestie, that such

is our tender loue and loyall affection to-
 wardes your Maiesties noble person, and
 to the preservation thereof, in long life
 and princely honor; that vnlesse we were
 most fullie perswaded, that the yeelding
 there-vnto (notwithstanding these obie-
 ctions) woulde not at all proue perilous,
 but rather very beneficiall and profitable
 to the safetie and securitie, both of your
 person and honor, albeit wee had given
 leaue vnto our selues some-what to haue
 thought of this motion: yet would we ne-
 ver haue proceeded thus farre therein: for
 we wish your dayes to be extended as far
 as Methushelahs, in all princelie honour
 and felicitie: and we covet not to liue one
 howre after you. This truly & faithfully
 protested: to these obiections we answered
 first generallie, and then particularlie: for
 I. generall answere vnto them we say, first,
 that the perill vpon these grounds suppo-
 sed to arise either to your person or ho-
 nor, is but an imagined or supposed pe-
 rill, & that also inferred but by probable
 arguments, not by evident demonstratiō:
 which

Answered
 generallie 3.
 waies.

which being so, doth not discharge you from doing so necessarie, profitable and honorable a duty to God & to your people, as this is, where-vnto you are nowe moved. Secondlie we say, suppose there were as much perill vnto your person, as is pretended: yet the peril of your worthy Realme, beeing so great and palpable as it hath beene proved to be, through the want of the establishment of a knowne successor: it may not therefore be left vndone: for, never so evident a perill, (your wisdom knoweth) freeth any from doing of that dutie, that the Lord enioyned them to doe: for obedience to his will is to be preferred before our owne honour and safetie. Alwaies Queene Hester, the wife of Ahashueroth king of 127. provinces, vnderstanding into what extreame perill her countrie people the Iewes wer brought by the meanes of Haman, put her life and honour in evident perill, wittinglie and willingly deserving death by law, to prevent the danger towards her naturall people. For to the hazard of her

2.

Confirmed by
the example
of Esther.

life (as appeareth in the storie) she came into the Kings presence without leaue, (the which was death by the Lawe) to make meanes for their safetie , saying, that if I perishe, I perish, therby carrying a resolute minde , that though shee did perishe, yet not to omit to doe what possible shee might for the safetie of her people . In deede , shee prepared her selfe to this action with long fasting and earnest praier: and so wee woulde wishe all such weightie and necessarie services to God & our countrie (especially when there is feared some danger and difficultie in the accomplishing of them) to bee taken in hand, But this storie sheweth especially, seing this is reported of her in the Canonickall Scripture to her commendation, that heerein shee did well, & that others may lawfullie, and ought, even though they bee Queenes, to offer themselves to perill for the good & safetie of their countrie: when otherwise, without their so doing , it must needs come to some extreame miserie . What doubt

doubt can there be of this, seing we read that even the light of nature hath taught manie heathen Princes to offer themselves to extreame perill for the good of their country. And your Maiestie hath a Christian and domesticall example of your noble father hereof: who spak these naturall words to his nobilitie and commons: namelie, For your defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor (if necessity require) my person shall not be vnadventured. And so (Madame) giue not your maiesties kind subiects cause once to imagine, that a conceit onlie of fear to peril, either your person or honour, can or will stay you from doing so great a duetie as to perferue all your most loving subiects and whole countrie by this meanes from vtter confusion and desolation: otherwise palpably sene to be vnavoidable, & ready to come vpon them euerie howre. Nay, how can it be, but you having so oft, yea, so miraculousslie and sensiblie found God readie to protect and saue you from manie perils: but you must needes gather to

Codrus Athen. Decij Rom.

And of King Henry the 8.

Grafton pag. 1278.

your comfort, that much more (if you honour him in this case) hee will shewe that both hee can and will preserve you from all your enemies. Therefore let not your noble heart perswade it self for fear of perill either to your person or honor, to omit the doing of that, which in al honour, dutie, and conscience both to god and man, you are most bound to doe, for the furtherance of Gods glorie, and safetie of al your people and countrie. Howbeit, for a third generall answer to these objections of perill: the making your successour knowne, hauing such reasons to warrant and iustifie the doing of it, as we haue shewed: so farre off it is, that there is any perill (indeed) therin, or therby, like to arise vnto you, that it is an especiall meane of your safety & honor. For out of what fountain spring al the calamities & ruines of princes, but from the neglect of Gods glorie, & of their dutie to the people committed to their charge? or what castle and tower of defence proved ever so safe to princes, as the fauour of God,

and

and loue of his subiects? which he vouchsafeth ever to them that preferre his will before their owne, and obedience to him before their own safetie. Let all histories, both sacred and profane, be perused, and it shal be throughout all ages found true, that those princes (even in shew and apparance of greatest perils) haue alwaies beene most safelie protected & preserved by the Lord: which for doing their duties to God and their people, haue hazarded themselves. And therefore, in doing this so needfull, mercifull & honorable dutie, your Maiestie needes not once doubt of Gods providence & protection towards you therein: but boldlie (this shew of perils notwithstanding) and confidentlie resting on the Lords safeguarding of you therein: you may when you wil most safelie go about, and effect it.

God giveth
blessing to
those that o-
bey him in a-
ctions that
seeme verie
dangerous.

Yet for your Maiesties full satisfaction let vs (by your Graces patience) proceed to lay before you in order as they were propounded, the weaknesse of everie one of these obiections. The first feare, ariseth

The obiection
of peril an-
swered parti-
cularlie.

from the longing that is supposed wil be
 in your successour, (when hee is once
 knowne) after the highest place. The se-
 cond, from the provocation that hee is
 like to haue that way by others. Wherin
 first, wee will answere the obiection con-
 cerning his owne ambition: and then,
 the other, concerning provocation by o-
 thers. It is supposed in the obiection that
 it cannot be, but that there will bee such
 a desire to climme in the once made
 knowne successor, as will perill the pre-
 sent Prince. Wee grant, that naturallie
 fleshe & blood is prone to be so affected:
 but yet this is certaine, that where the
 sprit of God is, this corruption of nature
 is so bridled, that it bringeth foorth no
 dangerous fruits to the present governor.
 Let King David beare witnesse heerevn-
 to, whose succession beeing appointed
 and confirmed by God, and hee himself
 long time most iniuriouslie and cruellie
 persecuted by the present king Saule, and
 he having oportunitie twise to haue slaine
 his enemy, and to haue saved his owne
 life

The knowne
 successordoth
 strengthen
 the present
 Prince.

Confirmed
 by the exam-
 ple of David.

life, and alſo to haue taken the crown: yet neither the glorie of a kingdome, the deſire of revenge, nor the care of preſeruing his owne life, could make him once to lay hands on the Lords annointed, to perill him. Nay, not onelie the ſpirit of God in Gods children: but alſo naturall pietie, and humanitie hath ſo much prevailed in this caſe, that we read that Antoninus Philoſophus beeing made the known ſucceſſour to Antoninus Pius in the Romain Empire, hearing that Antoninus Pius did lye in moſt extreame miſerie, even wearie of his life, and to be ridde thereof, had commanded one of his men to kill him. This Antoninus Philoſophus hearing thereof, with a forcible hand ſtaied that vnnatural murther: for the which fact the ſtory ſaith, that the preſent Prince with furious words rebuked his ſucceſſor bitterlie: and that yet his ſaid ſucceſſor answered him againe thus, Were I worthie to ſucceede ſo noble a Prince in ſo high a dignitie, if I did not uſe my beſt endeuor to preſerue your life,

And of the
heathen.

Capitolinus.

seeing it in perill? No surelie, I were not worthie thereof. Lo, heere, an heathen knowne successor, not by nature, but by adoption (as it is cleere in the storie) for al that which is obiected aganst a known successor, hath not onlie not perilled, but preserved the life of him that had made him his successor. And infinit be the examples in all stories of such as beeing next to succcede, yet haue never perilled the present governour: and in comparison, verie few be the examples to the contrarie. And why then may not your Maie-
stie, rather presume to finde the like good affection in him, whome you shall make your successor, then otherwise? Trulie, the reason is verie strong that maye bee yeelded, to proue why he wil as little perill you, as David did Saul, or Antoninus Philosophus the other Antonine, that was in the place before him: for who soever it be (the title now standing so doubtfull as it doth) when you haue cleered his title, and by Parliament authority established it: he must of necessity confesse
and

and take himselfe so bound to you therefore, as though you had (even) given him the kingdome: for the which your wonderfull goodnes and bountie, if there be but common reason and nature in him, it will binde both his heart, tongue and hands from ever contriving any thing to your perill. Yea, who can bee so monstrouslie brutish and voide of reason, as having received such a benefit at your hands, as the cleering of his title to such a noble kingdome (so much also to the good & safetie of al your subiects) but he will thinke that by this meanes you must needs so winne the hearts of all your subiects, and binde them to such an heartie loue and thankfulnes in such fast fort to you: that if he should once but offer you vnkindnes, he should be thought generallie a monster amongst men, and so not worthie of common life: and then to be had in a generall contempt amongst all degrees. Which so being, were it likelie that ever he should get anie strength, to perill your person? And for further stragg-

Few Princes
hurt by their
successors
thus establi-
shed.

2.

The successor
whither Pro-
testant or Pa-
pist, or neuter
would not
hurt her Ma-
iesty, the one
for conscience,
the other for
feare.

thening of this reason, we are perswaded that if all stories wer perused, there could hardlie any one example be found, wher the present Prince was perilled by the meanes of that successor, who had his title to succeede cleered vnto him by the present prince, it being obscure & doubtfull before that time. And this will bee your Graces verie case, if that it shall please God to stirre vp your hart to make your successour knowne: and even thus much shall he stand bound vnto you. Againe, who soever it shall please God to lay it vpon, he is like to be either Protestant, papist or neuter: if the first, then Religion and conscience will keepe him in due order: if he be either of the latter, yet then also, feare to lose all that they haue alreadie, whiles they seeke more, or to make their state worse then it was before (by all good reason and likelyhoode) will cause them patientlie to waite for their time. But to put this feare quite out of feare, good meanes would be vsed to reforme and bridle this ambitious inclination

tion in the once known successor: and so to prevent all perill thereby. As first, a sharpe and severe law would be made, to take away his life (if he be a subiect) and quite disable his issue also, that shall contriue the perill of the present Prince, or anie way consent there-vnto. Secondlie, he would be vsed honorablie and courteouslie of the present prince: for if the present Prince want issue, hee is (then) his childe, by adoption, and heyre by lawe. Thirdlie, he is vertuouslie and religiously to be brought vp (if he be vnder yeeres) and to haue about him alwaies some trustie and faithfull freends and counsellors to the present Prince, to direct him in a good course, and to descrie him if he begin but to treade awrie. And lastly, where these means wil not serue, there, restraint of libertie vnder straight & trusty garde (if hee owe alleageance) may well and lawfullie be vsed. And thus, the daunger that might arise to your maiesties person by the proper motiō of a known successor hath his answere, That which followeth

And if he should how he might bee restrained.

The knowne
successor, can
not be able to
hurter Ma-
iestie by the
provocation
of others.

1. Sam. 24. 5.

Ver. 7.

is that which might ensue by their means who were likeliest to prick him forward to perill the present Prince, eyther hoping for further advancement by him, or els (vppon what sinister conceite so ever) desire to see an alteration: wherein wee shall not neede to trouble your Maiestie with manie words: for if fidelitie be planted in the heart of the successor, or hee kept within the boundes thereof, by the meanes and reasons afore-said: the provocations of others shall be in vaine. For though Davids servants were readie to provoke David (when he had Saule at advantage in the caue) to kill him, saying, Nowe is the day come wherof the Lord ~~said~~ vnto thee, I will deliver thine enemy into thine hand. Yet David thereby would neither bee mooved to suffer them to doe it, neither would hee doe it himself, saying, God forbid, that I should touch the Lords annointed. But it may be said, that all successors be not Davids. Truth it is, but yet, what so ever they be, by the meanes afore-said, this danger of yeel-

yeelding to the provocation of any, may well be prevented. And this still remaineth a comfort to your Maiestie, that the Lords arme of protection and defence wil not be shortned towards you, for the performing of this so acceptable a service of mercy & compassion towards his people & yours. And sure you may be (if God defended wicked Saule, when godly David was to succeed) that more assured shal his defence be over you, studying by this godlie way to please him. The dangers that can arise either of his owne motion, or through the instigation of others (suppose the worst) must eyther be by open hostility, or secrete practize. By open hostilitie & force, he will never attempt it: first, because he must needs see that you haue possessed iustlie and deservedlie the hearts of your subiectes, through your manifold and varecompensable desertes: and lastlie, through this deserved loue of yours fastlie knit vnto you, he shall never be able to grow to anie strength to stand against you in the fiede. because taking a

Neither by open hostilitie.

viewe of your subiects, though hee shall finde amongst them some mal-contents, some for religion, and some otherwise: yet, when he hath mustered them all together in his minde, he shall finde them not one handfull to those that will like so wel of their present state, that they wil never be brought to hazard that sweete and peaceable government that they presently enjoy vnder you, for a change: for the number of those that loue you for religion sake (God be thanked) are great: & these will, you may be sure, liue and die in your defence most willinglie: and worldlings there be verie manie, wee thinke, more then eyther Papists or Protestants: and those (sure) take such ioy and pleasure in the things of this world, that they can never bee brought to hazarde the quyet possession & fruition thereof, which they now possesse and which they must needs see, they do hazard, in consenting to treason: for sure to preuaile they can not be. And if they shoulde, neither can they be sure to better their estate, for there will
be

be then so manie rake-helles to please
and satisfie with other mens goodes,
that for satisfying of them, they maye
iustlie feare, that they must parte with
some of their owne goodes. And if the
knowne successour bee a Protestant (as Whicher he
be a Protestar
then, all kinde of Papists, whither they be The Scottishe
King.
Papists of state, or of conscience, will re-
fuse to ioine with him, least they feele his
little finger heavier, then they haue felt
your whole hand: and least he make their
yoak much heavier, then you haue done.
And whereas you (so they keep their fin-
gers from treason) beat them but with
rods, as a mother doth her children: hee
shal then beat them with whippes, as fla-
ves and dogs: for, they can never hope
for more mercie at the handes of anie
Christian Prince (differing from them in
Religion as you doe) then they finde at
your hands. But suppose, (which we hope
is impossible) that the right to succede,
shall bee found in a Papist: yet, by open Or Papist

force hee were never able to endanger you. For besides that he shall be forsaken both of the sound Protestant, and of the worldling also: of the one for his Religions sake: of the other for the loue he hath to his possessions, he should finde among them of his own faction a number so politicke, that they might perhaps giue him the looking on: but ioine with him they would not, nor durst not, for feare of had I wist: and so hee should finde those that durst stand forth with him in the field indeed, but verie few in number, and them of the weakest in wealth and strength.

Howsoever therefore it fall out, your highnesse need not to feare anie danger by open hostilitie, at the knowne successors hand, albeit he were much provoked therevnto, or be prone enough therunto of himself. And this is an especial reason no English successour can be of sufficient wealth, to maintaine warre with you, within your owne Realm. And if the successor fall out to be a stranger, he will rather seek by all friendlie and good carri-

age to requite your gracious and faithful dealing with him, and so more and more procure the loue of you and of your subiects, then by such hostility alienate your owne and your subiects hearts and minds from him. And as for the danger by secrete practises, great hope there is, that men considering howe manie that way haue come to confusion, for feare of the like rewarde, wil not dare to meddle that way anie further. And surelie your Maiestie hath iust cause to comfort your selfe against al the secrete dangers which may bee intended against you for well doing, with the most wonderfull and mercifull experience of God his protection, which you manie times haue had against such: though flowing from manie subtile and malitious hearts & heades. For you may be sure, that God will not take lesse care of you, and protect you the lesse, but rather much the more, for adding this heroicall and princely vertue, of preserving your people and state, to all your former noble deedes. Vse you therefore (sweet

Nor secrete
practise.

soveraigne) the best & speediest meanes that possible you may, to prevent the perill of all your subiectes, and in your well doing, you may rest safe and secure vnder the shadow of the Almighty, and so put your onlie trust in him: and then shal you bee like mount Sion, that shall never bee moved.

Objection.
Answer.

But your owne experience yet feareth you. Trulie (Madame) in our opinion, there is small reason that it should. For, first, what meanes soever were vsed vnto you, to provoke you to hasten your own course: yet experience of the sequel hath made it appeare, that you patiently tarried your time: and that your sister lived, while God himself ended her daies. And secondlie, no maruaile though you had manie (then) to egge you forward to aspire to the highest rowme: & great wonder were it now, if anie should bee found that would moue him (whom you should cause to be published your knowne successor) to attempt anie thing against you. For at her handes, you received hard im-
pri-

prisonment, & were as a sheepe appointed to the slaughter: whereas your known successeur (at your hands) is to receiue this incomparable benefite, to haue his title to the crowne after you, cleered by you, the which lay hid, and in controversie before. Her regiment was verie vnfortunate and bloodie, and yours is (Gods name be blessed for it) prosperous and mercifull. Shee patronized Antichristianitie, which is a speciall meane to provoke God, to vndermine the estate of those Princes that doe so: and you countenance the truth, and the glorious Gospell of Iesus Christ, which is a principall meane to moue God (for the good of his Church) as tenderlie to preferue you; as the apple of his eie. Shee, by her marriage with a stranger, had almost brought this land into wonderfull danger, if God (by making her time short heere) had not prevented it. For shee woulde haue cast out her olde inhabitantes, and haue had this Iland to haue become a dwelling for strangers: much like vnto an vn-

An opposition
betwixt her
Maiesties go-
uernment, &
her sisters.

naturall nurse: whereas you maintaine it in peace and prosperitie, most like vnto a natural nursing mother, for the vse of the auncient inhabitants thereof. Which strange doings of hers considered, no mervaile it is, though our countrie-men then, to shorten and to prevent those intolerable evils, wished rather you in place, then her: and verie great wonder were it we say, that anie now (especiallie once worthie to bee regarded) shoulde wishe rather your knowne successour to weare the Diademe, then your selfe: for these are things of great moment, both to stay others from giving him anie such counsell, and to with-hold his heart from ever consenting therevnto. And therefore, the differences of the times thus considered, together with Gods protection of your sister in her place, till God himself (with his owne hand) put an end to her daies: these differences notwithstanding (we say) may encourage you, rather by your owne experience to make your successour knowne, then otherwise: for
that

that God that heerein shewed himselfe both able and willing thus to protect & preferue your sister from all the dangers and perils intended against her, by all those that would faine haue had you in her place: no doubt of it, much more easilie can and will protect you, a nursing mother to his true church from al perils and dangers that can arise either from your knowne successor, or from his provokers.

And therefore, to come to your last argument concerning perill to your person by making a known successor, drawn from examples of certaine kings in this land, deposed by their successors. The answer therevnto, is moste easie: for what are those fewe in comparilon of infinite numbers that had known heires and successors, and yet were never endangered by them? And why then should not your Maiesties noble heart (especiallie already having had so often & so sensible experience of Gods goodnes towards you) rather take encouragement by the more

3.

The 3. argument that some kings haue bene deposed by their successors answered.

examples to make your successor known, (it being a thing every way as it is, becoming your person and honour to do) rather then discouragement therefrom by the fewer? Trulie we must needs thinke God being so readie at hand to help you, as you haue alwaies found him hitherto, and the thing beeing as it is, a most especiall point of your Maiesties dutifull service vnto him: that if ever God preserved Prince for so doing (as hee hath manie) you should perswade your self, that heer-in also he would preferue & protect you.

But as for these examples, they are little or nothing to the purpose in hand: for never a one of these that deposed their predecessors, were (by them) made and declared to bee their heires apparant, or their successors, their titles being doubtful and lying in suspence before: whereas the question now in hand is, Whither the present Prince, whose successor is made knowne by him, and is also advanced to that cleere hope by him, is to feare anie such perill from the successor? In which

which case, wee haue shewed in our reasons before, that hardlie in anie storie anie such example can be found. Yet seeing these examples are alleadged, it shall not be amisse (some-what) to consider of them. Edward the third was but 15. yeres olde when his father was deposed, and therefore not likelie to bee contriver of his fathers deposing. Nay, who so readeth the storie, he shall finde that he was deposed by his Nobilitie and commons, as one (in their iudgement) not worthie to be a king. Their reason was, for that he was altogether ruled by the lewde counsell of the two Spensers, Robert Baldock, Pierce of Gauestone, and other ill counsellours: whereby he vaineilie consumed the treasure of the land, and overthrewe the nobilitie and state. And king Richard the sec. was deposed, not by one whome he had made his knowne successor, but by Henry the fourth: no successor to him by right, but an vsurper, and that for his great misgovernment, as it doth appeare in the storie by 28. articles obiected a-

Edward 3. deposed by his sonne Ed. 3. and how.

Grafton pag 213. 214. 215.

King Rich. 2. deposed by Hen. 4. & why Grafton pag. 401.

Hen. 6. depo-
sed by Ed. 4.

gainst him at his deposing: wherein his nobility and commons shewed, that they liked rather to haue an vsurper to raigne over thē, that would preferue the crowne & them, then a rightfull king, that would perill the crowne and state also. So Henrie the sixt was deposed by Edward the fourth, who had a present right to the crowne, and was neither heire apparant nor knowne successor vnto him: but he was deposed for the causes, for the which God is often angrie with princes, name-
lie (as witnesseth the storie) for being too much advised by the wicked counsell of William de la Poole, Duke of Suffolke, by whose meanes (as the historie saith) the good Duke of Glocester, the kings vn-
cle, was put to death: and the countries that the crown of England did then possesse in France, were delivered and loste: hee bee-
ing the swallower vp of the kings treasure, wherby the warres were not maintained, and the expeller from the King of all good and vertuous coun-
sellours, and the bringer in, and the ad-
vancer

vancer of vitious persons, common enemies & apparant aduersaries to the publike weale. Heere be manie hard points discovered in a counsellour, the which a wise Prince will narrowlie looke into: least anie of his be infected with anie of these faults. His wife also and others did likewise so over-rule him, so that the state was (by his evill governement) greatlie troubled & vexed, and the nobility much perilled. Nowe, King Edward the fift was murdered being but a childe, by his wicked and trayterous vncle, Richard the third, who was neither his heire nor successor by right. So that these examples rather proue, that there is perill to the present governor from secret, ambitious, and vnknowne competitors, than from known successors: for three of these were neyther heyres nor successors by right, to them whome they deposed: and the fourth had the Crowne throwne in his lappe, both vnlooked and vnwished for. And in deede and truth princes are in far more danger, succession not beeing esta-

Wise Princes
will look narrowlie into
the affections
of their counsellors.

Ed 3. murdered
by Rich. 3

blished, then when it is settled. The reason is forcible, for the neglect thereof produceth the disfavour of God, and his subiects: whereof we haue a good example of David, who before he did establish the succession in Salomon, was in farre more danger then afterwards: for before, first Absolon, then Adonijah were vp in armes for the crown, but Salomon once settled in the title of succession, we reade of no more such dangerous attemptes in his time. And certaine it is that your Maiestie hath beene in much more danger hitherto (the title to succeed you beeing vndermined) then you can be by any likelyhoode, when soever it shall be declared who hath the right of succession. And so by this that is said alreadie, it sufficientlie appeareth, that the perilles by having a known successor, are rather shadowes of perilles then perilles in deede: whereas by concealing of the succession, and not declaring where it resteth, your Maiestie knoweth, a successor how weaklie soever supposed, yet mightilie supported,

ted, both by domesticall traitours and for-
rayne enemies, hath bred you manie evi-
dent and dangerous perilles. The Lord
be blessed, who hath delivered you out
of their snares & pits, and hath intrapped
themselues therin. But you haue no cause
yet to thinke (moste gracious Ladie) but
that the popish faction, which other mal-
contents, having nowe lost the staffe of
their hope, but that they ere this haue
busied themselues to finde another: for
you may assure your selfe, the more silent
you are to make knowne your successor,
the glader are they: for they thinke they
may thereby the more boldlie set vp one
to themselues in their owne conceites:
wherein, when their devises and plots are
come to anie ripenesse, former experi-
ence hath taught you what to looke for
from them, or at their hands. God pre-
ferue you alwaies from them and their
treacheries, and giue you grace ever to
beware of them, and never to trust them.
Againe, what daunger is there that you
can suppose to be likelie to arise by mak-

The Queene
of Scots.

king known your successor, that evidently ariseth not of keeping him unknown: for it is to bee thought, that where the best right is, it is well knowne to him that hath it. Then the more the right of his title be sought to bee suppressed and concealed, the more (it is likelie) it will stirre the coales of wrath in his heart, and the sooner it will cause him to put forth himselfe, least he should (by silence) misse of that which he accounted his right. And will not the concealing therof cause manie to flatter themselves that they haue a title: and so danger may spring vnto your Maiestie from manie fountaines, and from some perhaps that are not thought of. And all reason perswadeth, that there is lesse daunger to be feared from him that hath right to succede. especiallie being bound vnto your maiestie for publishing and manifesting of his right, then by one that is grieved & offended with your maiestie, for hiding and suffering his title to lie hid. And every one seeth that the danger that ariseth from one, & him known,

is

is easilier prevented, then that which ariseth from manie, & some of them also vnkowne. It were questionlesse therefore (everie way) the safest way for your maiestie, to binde him that hath the best right to succeed to you, to all loue and thankfulness towards you: and consequently (by that kinde meanes) from seeking to endanger you anie way: but especiallie by your kind cleering & declaring his right: and then also, to put out of hope all others, that now wrongfully imagine they haue right there-vnto: whose ambition may stirre them vp to seeke the diademe. This (as I haue plainelie prooved) is the way that best pleaseth God, & that standeth best with the discharge of your dutie, both to him & to your people: and therefore it cannot be, but that it is farre more safe for your noble person so to doe, then otherwise: because as al stories & experience teache, it is alwaies the safest way, both for Prince & subiect, to please God: and verie dangerous to thinke that there is more safety in following our owne de-

viles and phantasies, then his will and
 pleasure. Saule (you know) was threatned
 for that he had broken Gods command-
 ment, to haue his kingdome rent from
 him, and it was so. And the rather may
 you see, that there is no reason in respect
 of perill to your person, to stay you from
 thus doing: because (not onelie) it hath
 beene made to appeare manifestlie vnto
 you, that they are rather phansied perils,
 then perils in deede. And now lastlie, evi-
 dent reason hath shewed you, that what
 soever those perils be, yet the same, and
 rather greater, are more iustlie to be fea-
 red of the not setling of the succession.
 Wherefore we conclude, that (notwith-
 standing the former obiections) there is
 no sufficient cause why you should not
 make your successor knowne, in respecte
 of anie perill to your person: seeing wee
 haue rather proved it much more safer,
 then perillous for your highnes so to do.

The other
 branch of the
 obiection growe

And the danger that might come vnto
 your honour thereby, is also the lesse to
 be feared: for that no act can be more ho-

nora-

norable, then that whereby you shoulde provide for the continuall safetie of your kingdome, and people? And who can (with a reverent opinion) think that ever your Maiestie would desire to maintaine the full brightnesse of your glorie, by hazarding the glorie of God? and the vtter overthrow of your kingdome? For who knoweth not but that your Maiestie hath read and heard not onlie how farre noble King David in dauncing before the arke, was content to debase himself? thereby to aduaunce the glorie of God: but also, that verie heathen Princes haue often bene found ready with their lives (as precious as their honour) to redeeme the safetie of their countries. As for the reason to proue it perillous to your honour, in that as men are given rather to honor the Sunne rysing, then the setting therof: so, it is thought in this case, that they are given to preferre their newe Maister, before their olde Mistresse: but these be arguments of smal moment: for the Barbarians that doe worship the Sunne, doe as-

ded vpon perill, concerning the decay of the princes honor & dignitie, if the successor should bee made knowne, answered and refuted.

2.Sam.6.14

Codrus Athen. Decig Rm.

well fall flat on their faces, when it setteth as when it riseth . And reason teacheth wise men rather to honor that sunne, the ryſing whereof hath already much benefited them: then that which they cannot tell, whither it will benefite them in like measure, or no: Indeede, if the sunne ſetting hath bene all the former day, but a glowming and vn-comfortable Sunne: then there is ſome reaſon, why the next daies Sunne ryſing (in hope that it will be more comfortable and lightſome) ſhuld be rather honoured, then the other. But if the ſunne ſetting, hath beene all the day before, a cleere, lightſome, and comfortable ſunne, all wiſe and honeſt men will bee ſo farre in loue with it, that they will be exceeding loath to parte with it, and will highlie honour it, ſetting: and alſo dolefullie mourne, when it is ſet. And the like affection, wiſe and diſcreet men cannot carrie to the next ſunne ryſing, for that they know not whither it will proue comfortable, or not vnto them. Let your Maieſtie therefore goe on, as your Grace
hath

hath begunne: in sending forth the glorious beames of the Gospell of Christ, throughout your dominions: and now, and this kinde comforte to your loving and kinde subiectes: to wit, to make your successor knowne: and assure your selfe, that you shall be more infinitlie honored, setting, for these benefits alreadie received: then the next sunne rising can be possibly (whosoever he be) for benefites but barelie hoped for. And further you know, that though manie things bee moſte desired, when they are new: yet manie are greatlieſt eſteemed, when they are olde. But what if ſome light perſons doe withdraw (then) ſome honour from you, and giue it to your ſucceſſor? what can that eclipse your honour? when (by making your ſucceſſor knowne) you are grown great and mightie (with a ſetled and vn-remouea-ble loue) in the heartes of all the graue, faithfull, and godlie wiſe men of the land. And what loſſe of honor can it be to you, to loſe a little at the handes of vaine and light perſons, who are of verie ſmall or

none accompt, and to get ten thousand times more honour at the hands of the other: namelie, of all your graue, wise and faithfull subiectes: yea, and to gaine immortall honour both with God and man also, by doing so famous and worthie a deed. Thus we hope your Maiestie, doeth plainelie see, that there appeareth as litle force in this obiection, as in anye of the former, and that therefore wee may conclude also, that the perill in the setling of the succession, is nothing so dangerous to your Princelie honour and dignitie, as the contrarie.

The last arg.
the establi-
shing of a suc-
cessor will
take away all
forraine con-
spiracies.
Proved.

And certainlie (deere soveraigne) the surest meanes to kill the hearts of all your enemies both heer, and in forraine countries, and to stop their greedie hungring to aduance anie to the Diademe, and also to stay their bloodie desires to take away your Maiesties life, by murther of your noble person, or anie other wicked meanes, is the setling of succession onlie. The reason is, the cheefe cause and ende that moveth traiterous Papists and your
for-

forraine enemies to hunger so eagerly after your life, is this: they are certaiuelic perswaded, and it is holden for a resolute opinion amongst them, that if they could bereaue your Maiestie of your life, that then your good subiects had no one (onlie) head to cleaue, and resorte vnto for succour: but should (by inclyning to sundrie factions, and following of as manie heades at the least, as there woulde bee claimers of the crowne) growe to civill warre and vnnaturall division: and so bee readie everie one of vs, to cut one anothers throat: and then, were we easily all over-runne by them, and the common enemies the strangers. The onelie good & surest meanes to alienate all their minds, from intending the murther of your Maiesties person (the which otherwise they will never cease to practize) is, to settle the succession of the crowne, successiuelie to as manie, one after another, as the Lawe shal take notice of, to be inheritable ther-vnto. For thereby they shall see, that they are never a white the nearer winning of

the goale, though they should take away your Maiesties life. For that notwithstanding, yet no civill warre or discorde within this Realme (the onelic cause of their greedie thirsting after your Maiesties blood) were like to ensue therof: for that your subiects wits and mindes would not thereby bee distracted, seeing they then should know, and be certaine what head to leane and cleave vnto: and woulde so be all vnited in one minde, to follow one, and the selfe same head. Manie therefore & great are the benefits which your Maiestie, and the whole Realme should reap by the present establishment of succession: for as soone as this were done, those English traitours which are vsed by the strangers, as wicked instruments, to shorten your Maiesties daies, would presently desist from practizing of that vile enterprise, & your Maiesties enemies will likewise desist from hyring and pricking anie forward therevnto: for that no civil warre (the onlie mark wherat they aime) would ensue therevpon. And further they should see

see, that (by executing their malicious & longed for attempt) the Realme shoulde be governed by such a man, who (in their opinions) would defend it more strongly and stoutlie, then anie woman. Further, the consideration heereof by the straungers, will be (heere-after) a good meane to stay their purpose of comming againe, if they heare of it before: if they heare of it after their landing, it will hasten them faster away, then a thousand peales of gunnes: for small is their hope of over-running this land, without the advantage of domesticall warre amongst our selues. And it is not like, that they will leaue off with this dishonour, but will (another yeere) giue a newe onser. Lastly, admit that they will presume vppon their owne strength, without this advantage: yet, the establishment of the succession will so effectually and vnfainedly winne vnto your Maiestie, the hearts of all your Nobilitie and commons (some handfull of desperate Papists and Male-contents set aside) and so reconcile their minds one towards

They closelie
meane the
King of Scots,
who in everie
mans judge-
ment is moste
able to de-
fend it, but
chiefly in
the opinion
of strangers.

another, which are now distracted by favouring and inclining to fundrie titles, that the whole Realme (without al doubt and difficultie) will put on hearts like vnto the hearts of Lyons, and so stick wholie and hartilie together for the defence of your Maiestie, & this their noble countrie. If the setting of the succession proue not the surest and best meanes for your Maiesties present safetie, and also for the discharge of your dutie to God and your people, therby banqueting with the most daintie dishe of a quiet conscience: and for the winning to your Maiesty of an honorable name and fame throughout the whole world: and for the knitting of all your subiectes hearts fast vnto you, with loue deserved, and so vnremoueable: let our heades pay our ransome, for stirring vp your Maiestie heere-vnto.

A recapitulation of the arguments going before, with a pithie exhortation annexed thereto.

Wherefore (now) to grow to an end, (most gracious soveraigne) if obedience to God, examples of Kings, both Christian and heathen: yea, and of your owne deare Father, or care and compassion o-

ver all your owne naturall liege people,
(otherwise) sure to come to extreame cō-
fusion, the necessarines, profitablenes, &
honorablenes of the action, to the eie of
the whole world, and to your self also, &
both before God & man : together with
the weaknesse of all obiections that can
be made to the contrare, be of any force
and accompt with your Maiestie, as (wee
doubt not) but they are: then (Princelie
Ladie) denie not to your most mercifull
God this thankfulnes: but (in thankfull
consideration of all his benefites bestow-
ed vpon you) yeelde in moste effectuall
manner to this holie, naturall, and moste
needfull motion: denie not this Princelie
mercie and dutie to your noble Realmes
and Dominions that haue bred you, and
hitherto maintained you in all honour, &
princelie estate: and without the which,
you could not, nor cannot bee preserved,
and so maintained. And so, not we only,
but all your people, one and other, that
haue anie true feare of God, or loue to
their whole countrie generallie, or anie

naturall care to posteritie, night & day, with teares & gronings in most lamentable and pittifull manner doe cry and call vpon you (sweet Ladie) in this point, for mercie, as ever there was anie sparke of true mercie in your princelie heart, that you will (now) with speede shew mercie on vs all, & all our wiues and children, kindred & friends, & al our whole posterities: but especiallie to shew mercie vpon our soules: for that otherwise as all your true & faithfull subiects, cannot but perish with the sword: even so our soules will surelie sterue for want of the Word: yea, we (in most fervent manner) humbly beseech you, & God chargeth you to shewe mercie in this point (if in anie) to his whole Church throughout Christendome. For it will receiue great strength by the establishment of the succession heere. Alas (if you should not) what sinne & impietie were it in you, when (by this onelie meane) you may prevent vnavoidable perils to your whole people, & noble Realme, to suffer so manie
nie

nie thousands of your loving subiectes,
(who woulde willinglie haueshed their
bloode in your defence) to haue their
blood most cruellie spilt, by sundrie cru-
ell and bloodie battailes: yea, to suffer
such a flourishing Church and common-
wealth (by your vnkinde leaving it with-
out a known successor) to be spoiled of al
policie, order, government, and Religi-
on, and to be brought to vtter desolation:
Oh, (in so dangerous times especially as
these be, in the midst of secrete enemies
at home, and mightie and malicious a-
broad) provoke not (moste noble sove-
raigne) the wrath of your kinde God vp-
pon you so iustlie: neither offer any such
vnkinde occasion of alienating the affe-
ctions of your best subiects from you, so
deservedlie: it tending (so much as it
doth) to the weakning and perill of your
self: but in the feare of God, and of desire
everie way to please him, and to the dis-
charge of a good conscience, take in
hand (and that without delay, because
delay breedeth danger) this most godly,

h onorable, and naturall action. And stil to whet you therevnto, in stead of a finall conclusion wee leaue these short questions to be considered of by you, and answered betweene God and you in your secreete chamber.

Ten questions
to be considered
of by her
Maiestie.

FIRST, whither the Lord himself did not set the crown on your head, when your enemies earnest purpose was to haue taken your head away.

2. Secondlie, whither the same Lord hath not (with a mightie hand and outstretched arme) kept the same hitherto on your head, in despite of all your foes.

3. Thirdlie, whither hee hath not also wonderfullie in your regiment blessed you, and made you so famous, that you are a wonderment to all the Princes, and their kingdomes round about you.

4. Fourthlie, whither in regarde of all these exceeding benefites, you are not bounde to serue the Lorde with all your soule, & with all your strength.

5. Fiftlie, whither you do not think, that it is an especiall dutie that Princes owe
vnto

vnto God, and their people, to doe what may be done to preferue them and their posterities from all evils & mischief?

Sixtlic, whither you do not plainly & palpable feele and fore-see, that if you leaue your people without a known successor, that then it must needes followe, that you shall leaue both Gods religion, his people & your dominions, in euiden: hazarde of extreame confusion and vtter overthrow.

6.

Seventhlic, whither you do not think, that, in your life-time, to make knowne your successour, bee not (by all likelihood) the best and onlie way to prevent all these dolefull evils.

7.

Eightlic, whither (then) you doe not think it a grevous sin in you, if you should not doe the best that lieth in you, by making your successor knowne, to prevent these perils to your whole people.

8.

Ninthlic, and whither that therefore, if these perils bee not prevented, you, (though a Queene) shall not come one day before the tribunall seate of God,

9.

the revenger of all vngodlines, to make straight accompt of this greevous sinne.

10. Lastlie, whither in the meane time, it bee not a meane greatlie to your perill, thereby, not only (presentlie) to harden the hearts of your subiectes against you: but also, to provoke the Lord to bee angrie with you, and so to withdrawe his hedge and strong wall of defence from about you: if anie humaine perswasion, whatsoever, continue you still in this vn-naturall sinne?

The conclusion of the whole treatise, and exhortation enlarged with two new arguments, the one from the ignominie which is like to befall to her Maiesties person after her death, for wanting the honor of buriall: the other from the danger the counsellors are like to fall in to after her

TRue and vnfaigned loue, doeth even force vs to vtter vnto you (our most deare and natural Soveraigne:) that when soever it shall please God to touche you with the pangs of death, (as die most certainlie you shall, and howe soone is knowne to none but to the Lord onlie) if your Maiestie doe not settle the succession in your life-time, which God for his mercies sake long prolong, we do greatlie feare, that your grace shall, then, finde such a troubled soule and conscience, yea, ten thousand helles in your soule, even

ven such bitter vexation of soule & hart
for the perilling of the Church of God,
and of your naturall countrie, as to be re-
leased therof, you would giue the whole
world, if you had it. Of true loue to your
Maiestie, and of a reverent regarde that
wee haue vnto your honour and good
name after your decease: wee beseeche
your Maiestie to consider, whither your
noble person is like to come to that ho-
norable burial, that your honorable pro-
genitours haue had, or that (as we doubt
not) your grace will take order for by
your testament, or whither anie part of
your wil shal be performed by your execu-
tors, if your successor be not settled before
your death. It may be, that this is a mat-
ter neither thought of, nor yet doubted
of by your highnes, but that you holde it
as a cleere and vndoubted matter or que-
stion. To let your maiestie vnderstand our
opinions herein, we do thinke it our du-
ties. Vvee doe assure our selues, that the
breath shall be no sooner out of your bo-
dy (if your successor be not settled in your

decease, for
not procuring
the establi-
shing of a suc-
cessor, as
though by
their default
her Maiestie
had negle-
cted the same.

life-time) but that al your nobility, coun-
fellours, and whole people will be vp in
armes with all the speede they may: yea,
their care and haste to arme themselves
will be so earnest, that they will thinke
themselves moſte happie, that can first
draw themselves and their power into
the fiede: and then there will be as many
kings proclaimed, as there will be com-
petitors, the which will be fowre or fiue
at the least, though all haue not the like
right: so that then, your executors will be
so busied to set vp a new king, yea, (it is
likelie) two or three, that they shall not
possiblie haue one howres leysure to at-
tend, nor once thinke of your buriall, or
will: and then it is to be feared, yea, vn-
doubtedlie to be iudged, that your noble
person shall lye vpon the earth vnburied,
as a dolefull spectacle to the worlde, but
chiefie to such as dearelie loue you. The
shame and infamie hereof, wee beseeche
your grace to be careful of: and true and
vnfained loue, yea, our duties do force vs
to warne your maiestie of it: for it would
be

be a wonderfull sorow to a great number of our hearts, if your noble person (being the restorer of true religiō) should come to that shame as to lye vnburied. Againe, we feare (if your maiestie do not prevent these perils before your death) that (after the dissolution of your life) you shall leaue behind you such a name of infamie througout the whole world, even in such an opprobrious manner, that the forethinking therof, cannot (we do perswade our selues) but deepe lie griue & wound your honorable, pitifull & tender heart: especiallie, sithence your wisdom and kinde heart cannot but foresee, that those whome you shall leaue behinde you, which bee of naturall kinred, or beare anie heartie or true loue and affection towards you, will daylie die a thousand deathes, to heare the evils that shall be howrelie vsed in vile reports, songs and rymes against your noble person: & may not with truth defend you, for that you haue not dutifullie prevented the overthrow of the Church of God, and of your

noble kingdome, but haue suffered both to be subverted, even by the most cruell meanes that may be, to wit, by the mercilesse shedding of rivers of innocent blood, by all those endlesse bloodie batailes which shal be fought in that cause: and al for that you haue not shewed pitie & mercy in the setting of the succession of the imperial crown of your noble realm: This is not al, for your priue counsellors, which you shal leave alieue after you, who (offeare) to trouble you, haue suffered you to sleepe in quiet, as though you had no iust cause to take care for the safetie of the Church of God, and of your countrie, and also, in that they haue not incessantlie called vpon you, thereby stirring you vp (with all ferventnesse) to prevent these intolerable evils, shall (in all likely-hood) pay full dearelie for their silence after your decease. For wee cannot perswade our selues, but that the realme wil call them to a sharpe accompt for suffering the Church of God and the crowne of England to be vtterlie subverted. And
well

well they shall deserve it, both at the Lords hand, and of this their worthy and native countrie, if it should so fall out: for they tooke their corporall oathes to be true counsellours vnto this noble realme, as well as to your noble person, when they were sworne to be counsellours to both. And when they shall reape the iust reward of their deserts, then they will cry out vppon your Maiestie with a dolefull woe: saying, that you haue vtterlie cast them and all theirs away. This wofull tuned song, (we do perswade our selues) will the Lord (in his iustice) force them (then) to sing, doubtlesse, if the afore-named mischiefes be not prevented in your maiesties life-time. Therefore, an happie, and a thousand times happie, yea, and a most blessed thing were it to your maiestie, and to all your said counsellours also, if they did so heartilie and trulie loue you, that they would not suffer you to rest in quiet, neither at bed nor at board, vntil you had prevented the afore-named lamentable perils to your own soule and

Counsellors
sworne as well
to the realme
as to the
Prince.

noble person, and to theirs also. For then might your Maiestie, and they also, both liue and end the residue of your daies in great safetie: with a merie, cheerefull, & quiet heart, and bee at good peace, both with God and man: things greatlie desired, and heartilie wished to your noble heart by vs, your loyall, true, and moste faithfull subiects, even of very true, & unfained loue, as the Lord knoweth before whom we shall make a straight accompt if wee vse anie flattering or dissembled speeches. Wherefore we humbly beseech your Maiesty to beare with our true hearted plainnesse. Thus with all humble ferventnesse & loving dutie (our most sweet soveraigne and mercifull Princeesse) wee eft-soones begge the reading, & the reading againe heereof by your highnesse, with patience, and with all godly attention, and wise weighing of the reasons therein. And God graunt you grace to suck out the hony out of the sweet flowrs thereof, and to spit out the venome that hath heertofore envonomed you with a
fear-

fearfull, wrongfull, and deceit-full conceit, and settled opinion, even to the great and wonderfull perill of wounding the Church of God, and your whole people and noble Realme, vnto death: yea, and a poisoned dart to wound your own sweet soule, and your noble person likewise: whose line of life, wee as heartilie desire may be stretched out of as great a length as any subiects you haue, whatsoeuer they be: yea, albeit they haue receiued never so much honor, credite, estimation or benefite at your Maiesties hands. And this we speake trulie from our hearts, of loue vnfained, and without flattery, according to the rule of S. Paull: being heartilie desirous to gaine vnto your Maiestie, the fauour of God, the generall, fervent and true loue of eache degree of your subiects, vnfainedlie: a glorious and immortal good name throughout the earth, with the immortality of your most sweet and pretious soule.

The Lord of heaven and earth worke so effectually in your noble heart, that

you may so throughlie, and so deepe-
lie weigh this, and what else we haue said in
these few leaves, as to the glorie of God,
to the safetie of your noble person and
honor, and to all your true subiects com-
forts and preservations, wee may haue
shortlie (in Parliameut) this most neces-
sarie question (who hath moſte right to
ſucceede you) lawfully, peaceable
and effectually decided and
determined. God grant
it for his ſweete
Christs his
ſake.

AMEN.

THIS OBJEC-

TION WAS SENT AND

answered, when I was priſoner
of the Gate-houſe at Weſtmiſter.

VHereas the Scottiſh King
is now our friend, if the
ſucceſſor were ſetled, and
the title to the crown given from him
to another, hee would, after, become
our enemy. And for revenge hee
would ſuffer the Spaniards with all
their power to land in his countrie, &
ſo to enter into ours.

FIVE GENERALL AN-

SVVERES VNTO THIS

OBJECTION.

FIrſt a wiſe King may thinke it verie
dangerous to ſuffer or receiue ſuch
a ſtrong power to enter into his countrie
as are not eaſilie to be repulſed, eſpecial-
lie, beeing diſſention betweene him and his

x.

subiects, as there is betweene the papists and the Scottish king: for so might the papists ioine with that strange power, & either perill or vtterlie drive him out of his countrie. And he & his counsell are to wise to trust wicked & deceitfull papists, having had so good experience of their false hearts, as they haue. And there are manie presidents of states greatlie perilled, and free cities lost and gotten by this policie, slender care, and trusting the vntrustie. And were it not a good policie of the Spaniard to winne the possession of Scotland by such a strategeme? For then woulde hee deeme England more then halfe gotten. No, no, the Scottish king and his counsell are to wise and godlie disposed to perill both the Church of God, and their common-wealth. by trusting of the false Romish sect, who haue set this downe for a principle. That no solemne oath, faith or faithfull vowe, is to bee kept with heretikes. Of the which number (in their iudgement) the noble and vertuous Scottish king and his counsell

sell are numbered, yea, even as the most chiefe and principall heretikes.

If the Scottish king should take offence hereat, I affirme, it were an offence taken and not given. For what can bee a more godlie and dutifull act in anie Prince, then to preferue both the Church of God, and the common wealth committed to his charge, seing them in apparant and vnavoideable dangers. 2.

To prevent this mischief, I affirme, it were a simple policie in vs, wittinglie to see and suffer our state to be overthrown, rather then to haue the Scottish king our enemy. 3.

It is a generall rule amongst the wise, of two evils, the lesse is to be chosen, and the greater is to be avoided. Heerein the question is, whither the Scottish Kings malice (if his title should not be iudged good by Parliament) or the subversion of the state, will be vnto vs the lesse evill. 4.

To forbear to prevent an apparant and vnavoidable danger, or rather an intollerable and vnrecoverable mischief, 5.

for the preventing of a supposed or imagined perill. I referre to your graue and wise iudgements, what wisdome it were.

Now let vs consider what commoditie or benefite would growe to him thereby: or whither he should not (thereby) make a rodde to scourge himselfe withall?

To the which ende I desire to haue the questions ensuing considered of.

1. Whither were he ever the neerer the attaining of Crowne of England, if the Spaniardes had conquered it, or the farther off?

2. Whither will his owne experience moue him to expect better neighbourhoode at our soveraigne her hand during her life, & (after her decease) at the hand of an English Prince, or at the Spaniards hand, if he were king heere?

3. Whither the malice that the Spaniards, and all the princes of the league of Trent,

Trent, doe beare vnto this land, bee not chiefly for Religion?

If it be for Religion, whither the like malice be not borne vnto him, and to his countrie by them, for the same? 4.

Whither, if one selfe same cause, moue a like hatred and malice to both the Realmes of England and Scotland, will not the enuiers giue a like revenge, when a bilitie and opportunitie serueth? 5.

Whither were it good policie, wisdom, or naturalnesse, to kindle a fire in his neighbours house, the which hee is assured will set his owne house in fire, or rather to quenche that fire with all his power. 6.

Whither Scotland were able to resist the malice of the Spaniard, if hee were King of Spaine, Flanders, England, Ireland, &c. 7.

Whither the Scottish King desire or seeke the crown of England by conquest, or by good right and title therevnto after her Maiesties decease. 8.

If by right and good title, what preiu. 9.

dice or offence were it vnto him to haue it iudged and establiſhed by act of Parliament, whereby he may come by it, and enioy it with peace: and with the loue & good-will of all your nobilitie, and commons of this land? For God forbid, that he ſhould not haue it willinglie yeelded vnto him, if it be his right: for god would accuſe this land for their iniurie and iniuſtice, if they ſhould wrongfullie detain it from him.

10. If he haue no right or title thereunto, would it not be a great benefite vnto him to haue his expectation and opinion opened and ſatiſfied by large argumentes: yea, and iudged by Parliament, thereby to keep this Realme, & his alſo, in peace, loue and quietneſſe, avoiding open hoſtilitie: the which (by manie bloodie battailes) would ſo weaken both the Realmes, as they were like to become a praie to the enemy: and thereby alſo to nourish, entertaine, and continue that loue & amitie which is now betweene both the Realmes, to both their preſervations here after,

after and great comforts, and also to the preservation of the holie Religion of Iesus Christ, now established, preached, & openlie professed and taught in both these blessed Realmes, the onely cause of all the malice to both, by the Princes of the league.

If the successor were setled by Parliament, and the title of the crowne given from the Scottish king (lawfullie) to another: hee having the fore-knowledge of the Parliament, and of the intent of the calling thereof: and beeing required eyther to bee present thereat, or to send his learned counsell thither, and allowed to haue and retaine Lawiers learned in our Englishe lawes, to pleade and defend his title: I say, if this true iustice be duellie & vprightlie weighed in an equal ballance, and this kindnes offered vnto the Scottish King, what cause hath he to become our enemy: or (for revenge sake) to let in, or aide the Spaniard to subvert our state: & consequentlie to endanger his own. And all because her Maiestie should (by god-

II.

lie, lawfull, and the most peaceable meanes that could be possible devised) seeke and indeavour to preserve both the Realmes of England & Scotland: Both which beeing fast linked and chained together with the strong and godlie linkes and chaines of true loue, and Religion, and with the sure amitie thereof: God will so take their parts, and strengthen them, that they should not neede to feare the malice, and enemitie of anie Princes of the earth. And I doe perswade my selfe, that the christian Scottish king, and his christian nobilitie, haue such a naturall loue and care to the preservation of their common-wealth, that if they were conferred with, they would yeeld willinglie to haue his title to the crowne, quyetlie, vprightlie and lawfullie iudged and determined by Parliament: to the preservation of both the realmes. Sure I am, that both godlines and wisdom would e it shoulde be so: in respect of both their safeties.

12.

I asstie, if it so fall out, that he will (of will)

will) be offended for setting of the successor, yet it will betoken in vs a more godlie regarde and truth to the state, rather to offend him by preserving of it, then to please him, either be perilling of it, or suffering this worthie realme to be vtterlie subverted. For it will be (farre) an easier matter to recover his favour, beeing lost, then to recover the state, being overthrowne: And the state is, and ought to be a lewell of greatest price, and of most account with vs, next vnto the Gospell of Iesus Christ.

Sure I am, and in reason it cannot be avoided, but the time will come (and the wisest knoweth not how soon) that if this title bee not quietlie determined and settled by authoritie of Parliament in her Maiesties life (the which God long lengthen) that both the realmes of England and Scotland, will dolefullie rue it. For they both are like to become (through their vngodlie dissension) prayes for a strange people. O wofull, cruel & lamentable time, Let such as sit at the helme, &

rule the steerns of the ships of both these
 our common-wealths (with great care)
 haue dutiful regard vnto this weighty ser-
 vice in time, if there be in the either loue
 naturall care to posteritie, or pitie and
 compassion to auoide the shedding of so
 much innocent blood, by manie bloodie
 battailes; as may make rivers to runne.
 Let such (eftsoones I say) as rule the
 steerns of both the common-wealthes of
 England & Scotland, lovinglie & kindlie
 conferre, consult and prevent the over-
 throwes of both Church and common-
 wealthes in both their countries, & that
 spedily: for the holy Ghost saith, what so-
 ever is by the commâdement of the God
 of heaven, let it be done speedilie for the
 hous of the God of heavē: for why should
 he be wroth with the king and his chil-
 dren. And I thinke it no presumption to
 affirme, that princes and magistrates are
 ordained and commanded of God, to
 preserve both Gods Church and Gods
 people (as the text saith) and that speedi-
 lie, even when they see them in vnavoy-
 dable

Ezra 7.23.

dable perill without their helpes: and much the more, sithence that perils may come vnexpected and sodainlie. And sithence that the wisest knoweth not how soone: let wise magistrats and counsellors beware of that wofull counsellor, Had I wist: who ever cometh to late, and is alwaies a repentant counsellor, remediesse.

My simple capacitie iudgeth it to be a fearefull & presumptuous sinne, yea, and a tempting of God, in both English and Scottish magistrates, to hazard the pretious pearles of the imperiall crownes of both these noble realmes, vppon the vncertaine life of one, albeit never so much wished & desired to be drawne on length by all true and faithfull English hearts: yet, not to be attained, for God hath appointed the certaine time, though it bee vncertaine and vnknowne to anie. And when that dolefull time shall once come, no earnest wailing, wishing or sighing can recover it againe. And so I recommend this simple labour to your honors wise & graue iudgements, deeming, that

the preservation or ruine of the realme of England in this case, will be the same vnto the realme of Scotland: and therefore to be carefullie considered of both.

And so to conclude, I may affirme (in my simple iudgement) that the setting of the successor by Parliament, equity & authoritie, will be an especiall good meane to increase, and long to continue true & faithfull loue and amitie betweene our Christian Queene, her christian nobility and commons: and the christian Scottish king, his christian nobilitie & commons: albeit the imperiall crowne of this worthy realme, shoulde be given (after her highnes decease) from the said Scottish king: sithence hee and his nobilitie may (hereby) plainelie and evidentlie see, that we kindlie desire and imbrace his loue, and neither envie him nor his title: neither (yet) his rule nor government: but desire (onlie) that the right may be carefullie and yprig'ltie examined, sought out, & given to him, to whom (of right) it duellie appertaineth: wherby God may
giue

giue a blessing to both these noble Realmes for this heavenly iustice, by means whereof, the vnnaturall and vngodlie subversion of both these worthie common-wealthes may be avoyded.

If the Scottish king were conferred with in this matter of great importance, as much concerning his safetie and the safetie of his realme, as the safetie of our state, and shoulde refuse and denie this godlie and quiet triall offered in the eleventh question: thereby perilling both these worthie Common-wealthes: it would wound all hearts. And God (in his iustice) would revenge himselfe, who is the Lord of anger, and the mighty reuenger. And the Prophet Ezekiell saith, As Nahum. i. 2.

I liue (saith the Lord God) I will prepare thee vnto blood, except thou hate blood, even blood shall pursue thee. Ezech. 35. 6.

FINIS.

[illegible]

THE LORD OF THE RINGS

A TREATISE
CONTAINING
M. WENTWORTHS IVDGE-
MENT CONCERNING THE
PERSON OF THE TRVE
and lawfull successor to these
*Realmes of England and
Ireland.*

WHEREIN
THE TITLE IS BRIEFLY
AND PLAINLIE SET
down: DOLMANS objecti-
*ons refuted, and incon-
ueniences removed.*

Made two yeeres before his death,
but published a yeere after his
death for the publick
benefite of this
Realme.

IMPRINTED 1598.

A TREATISE

COGNATE

IN THE

ARTS

AND

SCIENCE

BY

WILLIAM

WATSON

ESQ.

OF

THE

UNIVERSITY

OF

EDINBURGH

PRINTED


BY

JOHN

WATSON

ESQ.

A TREATISE
CONTAINING
M. VVentvorth his
Iudgement of the heire apparant.

 SIR, I haue receaved
your letters, by the
which you craue my
opinion for the drift
of D O L M A N S book,
and further what I
think for the person
of the true suceffor. Sir, my iudgement in
my own conceit is but weak, and I would
bee loath to diue into such questions as
may encrease my affliction . But yet as
conscience doeth binde mee to commu-
nicate my small measure of knowledge v-
pon good respects with al those that seek
not to entrap me, (as the late L. Chancel-
lour did at the Counsell table) but to en-
forme themselves of the right, in a matter
so highly importing them, that they may

The occasion
of this trea-
tise.

be able to discerne betweene error and truth. So I am first to discharge this duty to you, and to those your freinds whom you doe mention, by reason of manie other great bonds. I pray you bee carefull how you impart it: the times are ticklish, and the handling of this question verie dangerous, although conscience and sound policie doe require that even they who forbid it, should moſte of all others ſearche it out, and earneſtly debate it: for as wee nowe finde in experience by this book, the moſt dangerous practiſe which the enemies and traitours to our ſtate could ever haue vſed for the vndermining of the ſame, is by ſuch ſeditious and pernitiouſ courſes, to overwhelm the light & right of ſucceſſion, with ſo great darknes, as the iudgements not onlie of the multitude, but even of manie of the better ſort may be dazeled: and when the time of trial ſhal come, they may be ſtricken with ſuch a dump and amazement as they ſhall not diſcerne what to doe, or whom to follow. So the mercileſſe ſword
ſhall

shall giue iudgement with them that may be strongest, and our country which is now populous, wealthie, & renowned for valour, shal be by our owne hand dispeopled, wasted, tread vnder foote, and made a by-word by the proud enemye. Al which might bee easilie prevented, if it would please God to moue our dread soveraigne to take to hart that humble petition which in the conscience of my bounden dutie to God, her Maiestie, and my countrie, I did exhibite to her highnesse: and for which now I patiently suffer, thogh most guiltlesse, not only in my own conceit, but even in the judgement of my Lorde Tresurer: who as hee affirmed at the counsell table, had three severall times perused my book, and found no thing but what he thought to be true and stood assured would at last come to passe. But as he then said her Maiesty had determined, that that question should be suppressed so long as ever shee lived. Good Sir, God hath his owne work going on, which no man shall stay, whither

it be for our good (as I hope & most hartlie wishe or otherwaies, and on his will I willinglie rest, that hath appointed a time for everie purpose vnder heaven.

As for the booke, this is my opinion in few words. That no man can in reason expecte to gather grapes of thornes, or thinke anie good can be intended to our Queene and countrie by a Spanish harted papist. His name doth forewarne you of his deceite, which cleerelie appeareth in everie part of his booke. His purpose is plaine to worke our dissension, debate and destruction. The booke is no fuller of lynes then of lies, which are countenanced most times with the credite of noble men, other whiles floorished and glazed with sentences and textes of Scripture, impudentlie disswading the tryall of succession, which everie favorer of our good doth wish: it giveth title to manie, who have no reason to be touched with anie such matter, and closlie impeaches the right and government of our gracious Queene. It is wiselie suppressed, not for
that

The authors
opinion of
Dolmans
book.

that it carries anie other force or greater matter then grosse forgeries and palpa-
ble lies: but because our people are weak
and simple in this question, and may bee
easilie seduced, beeing barred to looke
into it: notwithstanding they stand char-
ged by their dutie to God & their coun-
trie, to examine and search out the same.
I haue not a litle stooode with some of my
friends, whither this question was more
to be regarded then the matter of disci-
pline. And I thinke by such practises, we
haue sufficient prooffe, that this is the
foundation and pillar, on which the Re-
alme and Religion doeth rest. It is to no
purpose to answere him, for we shall ne-
ver be without gainfayers, even against
the cleereft truthes, yet in this my dis-
course I will briefly touch in their owne
places, some things which hee hath craf-
tilie foisted in, applying himselfe closlie
and covertlie to the dispositions of our
nation, especially of the common sort,
that hee may the more forceable per-
fwade the doubtfulnes of the right of suc-

cession, and so distract vs in mindes, and turne our forces against our selues. As for anie thing els that is in the said booke, I say with Salomon, that a foole is not to be answered in his foolishnes, when the answering may imply some estimation or conceite of that which of it selfe is iust nothinge, but yet by answering may be thought to be something.

The Authors
opinion con-
cerning the
true successor
which was
the second
point that
was deman-
ded.

For my opinion of the right of succession, it were fitter it came after then went before a Parliament, as I tolde my Lord Chancellor: for this matter doth rather require the mouth of all England, then of anie one man: yet without preiudice to anie second person, I will tell you trulie what I doe discerne, and what I would speake, if I were to reason this matter in a free Parliament. But first I must confesse, and you and manie of my friendes well know, that I haue somewhat flected and altered concerning some pointes of this question: yet at this present I am of that minde, and so, as I thinke, shal be stil, that the right shall be found in this king
of

The King of
Scots next
lawfull suc-
cessor to her
Maiestie pro-
ved by the
pedegree

of Scots to succcede to her, to whom we wish, if it may please God, the length of Noah or Methuselahs dayes: my reasons I will first alleadge, and then answer to such obiections as are to be met withall.

First I take this ground as yeelded, that you and everie loyal & true hearted Englishman will frelie confesse, if the Ladie Margaret, the eldest sister of King Henry 8. were at this present aliue (the line of her brother ceasing in our gracious Queene) that she I say shoulde without all controversie be received, and by all England acknowledged to be the onlie righteous and true heire to her Maiestie, and that all others should giue place to that her right. Now seeing the saide king is the very next in descent from her, & by a lawfull, unstained & vnblemished line by both parents, what conscience or reason can warrant vs to defeat him, her next heire of that right, which by iust devolution is come to him, and which we (by our own confessions) stand bound to haue yeelded to her, if shee had at this

day beene living to haue received it.

Obiections
made by
Dolman and
others against
the king of
Scots answer-
ed.

Now to come to the obiections which are made against this reason, and which seeme to be of some value, they are handled at large by the Bishop of Ross in his former book, but better in a late treatise privilie put out in his name, and in my small iudgement, wel in that book which at our last conference you had in your hands. I will therefore deale with such points, as none of the former haue fullie satisfied, or were not acquainted with, & with such as carryes some weight with some of our freinds. And these, Sir, are of two sorts: either such as directly assault his right, or then such as yeelding that he hath the best right, doe notwithstanding maintaine that the Parliament may (for great regarde & respectes importing this Realme) transfer his right from him to some other, whome it shal think good to make choise of. The impedimentes that are alleadged to barre his right are three: the first generall against his countrie and forraine birth: the other two are particular

lar against the two braunches of his fathers and mothers lines.

The impediment by reason of his birth, is grounded vpon a statute made anno 25 Edwar. 3. which though by Rosse and the rest it bee verie well answered, yet two difficulties to such as vnderstand not the statute, seeme to remain. The first is, that notwithstanding diuers præsidents may bee brought of strangers who haue obtained the crowne before the making of the said statute, yet none can be alleadged who since the making of the same hath got it. The other is, that her Maiestie within these fewe yeeres, hath taken the opinion of some Iudges and Sergeants at lawe, concerning the meaning of the wordes, *Enfants du Roy*, which, as is said they expounded to be no further extended then to the first degree. For answer to the former, the reason is plaine, why no stranger came to the crown since the making of this statute, not because the statute was or could be anie let, but because there was no stranger since that

1. Obiection
of forraine
birth.

time before the nowe king of Scots, that
coulede make anie claime to the crowne.
To the second, with reverence to the pla-
ces of the said Iudges be it spoken, if their
resolution was such, the proviso or excep-
tion of *Enfants du Roy* in the first degree,
that is the Kings immediat children, car-
ries neither sense nor reason, for they can
not be said in anie respect to be begotten
of Parents out of the kings alleageance,
being indeed begotten of the King him-
selfe, of whome it were verie absurde to
say that hee were vnder or out of allea-
geance: but if you say they meant by the
first degree the kings sonnes children, or
his nephewes, why I pray you shuld they
more be called *Enfants du Roy*, then his
Nephewes children, or their Nephewes,
seeing there is the like reason for both.
Now for ful answere to this obiection of
his countrie, I will set against this opini-
on of the Iudges and Sergeants and all
other private opinions or expositions of
anie men whatsoever, a publick iudge-
ment of the Lordes Iustices of both ben-
ches

ches given in the Kings bench Term. Michael. 13. and 14. of the Queene, concerning a Scottish-man who was arraigned in the said bench vpon an inditement of rape, & hee having pleaded, not guiltie, & a *Venire facias* being adwarded, a Iurie retourned, and three of his Iurie sworne, hee did then pleade that hee was a Scot borne, and praied in regarde hee was a stranger (as he did alleadge for himselfe) the benefite which by our Lawes is afforded to strangers, to wit, to haue *Medietatem linguae*, that is, the halfe of the Iurors to be of his owne countrie-men. But by the iudgement of the saides Iustices hee was denied it, for that a Scot was not to be accompted in England for a stranger, but rather a subiect: and also that the language of the Scots is no strange language, but meere English. &c. And this iudgement thus given with these reasons is extant and to be seene in M. Dyers cases, as the meanest student in the Innes of Court knoweth.

Term. Mich.
13. & 14. Reg.
Eliz. 51.

Against his Fathers line is objected,

The obiection concerneth a stain in his fathers line, by alleged bastardy of Lady Margaret Douglas fully answered.

that Ladie Margaret Douglas his grandmother was base, her father Archebald Earle of Angus having a former wife at the time of his mariage with her mother the Ladie Margaret Teuther: for which cause also the said Ladie Margaret Teuther did afterwarde sue a divorce, and tooke to husband one Henrie Steward, who was afterwards created Lord Methven. For answer, the allegation of the former mariage, and it to be the cause of the divorce which ensued, cannot choose but seeme ridiculous to everie man that shall heare of it. For to what purpose should so noble an Earle without anie cause haue formerly married in a corner: or who will once think that his wife (alleged to haue bene alive) would not haue made some hinderance or stop, at least some challenge at the time of his mariage with the Ladie Margaret Teuther. So as this Ladie might more easilie and honourablie haue thrunk back from the mariage and avoided it before it was solemnized, then to haue sought to
dis-

dissolue it, it being once accomplished: and admit that this was the cause, yet it can stand with no reason that she should deferre it whole foure yeeres and more, and after all this while to seek then to be divorced from him, when he had issue by her. But they that are but meanlie acquainted with the Scottishe histories knowes that this is, *non causa pro causa*, and that the true cause was, because the Erle fel in loue with a gentle woman of Douglas-dale, whome hee kept as his concubine, which his Ladie took so to heart, as she would never be reconciled to him after, that by this act he had defiled her bed such was her Princelie minde. And it is reported of king Iames the fift that hee was accustomed to aske such of his servants as were moſte inwarde with him, whither the said gentle-woman were fairer then his mother. So this act of the Earle of Angus falling out about some fowre yeeres after the birth of the Ladie Margaret Douglas his daughter, can no whit itain or embase her in blood, being

See Holinf.
compare pag.
303. with 306.
in the Scot-
tish historie.

begot and borne in lawfull mariage.

But for further prooffe of the legitimation, she was alwaies by all men taken & reputed as the sole and onlie heire to the Earle of Angus, and served (as they call it) by the Scottish lawes to the said Earldome, and had all the evidences & writings of the same delivered to her, as to whome of right they did appertain. But vpon the mariage of her sonne the Lord Darnlie with the late Queene of Scots, she was content, at the said Queenes instance to permit and yeeld the said Earldome to the disposing of the Queene, according her best liking, which honor and Earledome the said Queene of Scots did bestow vpon Archbald late Earle of Angus, all which you may see at large in the Scottish and English Chronicles. And my Lord Dowglas, who at this present hath his lodging in Lyme-street, was the man, as I take it, that was sent from the said Queene to the Ladie Margaret, being then prisoner in the Tower, to treat of the resignation of the Earledom, with this

Pag. 335.

Fran. Thyne
in his supplem
to Holinshed.

this message, It was a wel lost Earledome which brought home a kingdom. These are found proofes that the L. Margaret was no bastard, and that this which is brought to impeach her legitimation, beeing truelie delivered, doth maynlie strengthen the same. For mine own part, I make no question (if her Maie^{ty} would be pleased) but that my Lord Treasurer, who hath sifted this matter more then a-
nie man, and who is esteemed of all men to bee warie and wise enough, and not to bee any of the Scottishe Kings greatest friends, would venture Sir Roberts young sonne (though he be vnder yeeres) vppon Ladie Arbella, & her title, albeit it come by this onely branche of the Ladie Margaret Dowglas, and come also even in it a degree after the king and his children. And that you may the better belieue me, I pray you be remembred what attempt my Lord made for one of Sir Thomas his sonnes. To cōclude this point, what soe-
ver right my L. doth giue by this branch to the said king collaterallie with Ladie

Arbella, I see no reason why any other man should seek to take it from him, knowing that most men comes short of my Lord in the search and knowledge of this matter: but verie few, or none short of my L. in favour and affection towards him.

The obiection made against his mothers line, is not so much the argument of any competitor or anie of their favourers, or the doubt of anie of the skilfuller and better sorte, as a scruple bred in the minds of the common people, arising from I know not what buzing reporte of an act of Association, the truth of which is this. During the custodie of the Scottishe Queene, there were diuerse conspiracies practized by Iesuites, and other Papists & male-contentes against our Soveraigne Ladie, not without the knowledge and privitie of the said Queene, which course of conspiracies & treasons, when the LL. of her Maiesties moste honorable privie councell did discern that they could by no meanes stop, so long as the Scottish Queene lived: and withall, that the only
re-

remedie to prevent them , was, that the Law should take place for her triall. Yet fearing that her execution (if she should bee found guiltie) might be the cause of great sturres & troubles by reason of her great factions in the neighbour Realmes, and of her favourers in this land, it seemed good to them , for withstanding and repressing of such commotions (it anie shoulde ensue) and for the better maintenance of the peace and tranquillitie which the state did enioy , to make an act of Association, the tenor whereof, for your better satisfaction & further instruction , I have thought good to set down at large, as followeth.

AN INSTRUMENT OF Association, for the preservation of the

Queenes Miesties person made An.

1584. and confirmed by an act of Parliament Anno Reg. Eliz. 27.

FOrasmuch as Almighty God hath ordained Kings, Queenes, and Princes, to haue dominion and rule over their subiects, and to preserve them in the profession and obseruation of the true Christian Religion , according to his holie Word

and commandement, and in the like sort, that all subiectes shoulde loue, feare and obey their Soueraigne prince, beeing king or Queene, and to the vitermost of their power at all times withstand, pursue and suppress all manner of persones that shall by any meanes entend and attempt any thing dangerous and hurtfull to the honours, states and persons of their Soueraignes. Therefore wee, whose names are, or shall be subscribed to this vwriting, being naturall borne subiects of this Realme of England, and having so gracious a Ladie, Elizabeth by the ordinance of God, our most rightfull Queene raigning over vs these many yeeres, with great felicitie, to our inestimable comfort: and finding of late by diuerse depositions, confessions and sundrie aduertisements out of forraine parts, from credible persons well knowne to her Maiestie, counsell, and diuers others, for the furtherance and aduancement of some pretended titles to the crowne of this Realme, it hath bene manifest that the life of our most gracious Soueraigne Ladie hath bene most traiterouslie and diuelishlie sought, and the same followed most dangerouslie to the perill of her person, if Almighty God her perpetuall defender, of his mercie had not reuealed and withstood the same: by whose life we, and all others her Maiesties true and loyall subiects doe enioy an inestimable benefite of peace in this land: DOE FOR the reasons and causes

bes

before alleadged, not only acknowledge our selues
most iustly bound, vvith our bodies, liues, lands, &
goods, in her defence and for her safety, to pursue
and suppress all such mischeuous persons & all o-
ther her enemies of vvhat nation or degree soeuer
they shalbe, or by vvhat colour and title they shall
pretend to be her enemies, or attempt any thing a-
gainst her person, but vve do also think it our most
bounden duties, for the great benefite of peace,
vvealth, & godlie government vvich vve haue
more plentifully receaued these many yeeres un-
der her Maiesties gouernment, then our fore-fa-
thers haue done in any longer time of any other her
progenitours kings of this Realme, to declare, &
by this vvryting make manifest our bounden du-
ties to our saide Sovereaine Lady for her safety.
And to this end, vve and euery of vs, first calling
to minde the holie name of the Almighty God, do
voluntarily & vvillingly binde our selues euerie
one of vs to the other iointlye and severallye in the
bond of a firme & loyall societie: And heereby
swear and promise before the Maiesty of Al-
mighty God, that vvith our vvhole powvers, bo-
dies, liues, lands and goods, vvith our children &
seruants, vve and euery one of vs vvill faithfullie
serue and humbly obey our said Sovereaine Lady
against all estates, dignities & earthly powvers
vvhatsoeuer, and vvill asvvell vvith our ioint as
particular forces during our liues vvithstand, of-

fend and pursue as well by force of armes, as by al-
 other meanes of reuenge, all manner of persons of
 whatsoeuer estate they shall bee and their abet-
 tors, that shall by any act, counsell, or consent do a-
 ny thing that shall tend to the harme of her Ma-
 iesties royal person. And we shal neuer desist from
 all manner of forcible pursue against all persons to
 the uttermost extermination of them, their coun-
 sellers, aiders and abettors. And if any such vic-
 ked attempt against her Royall person shall be ta-
 ken in hand or procured, whereby any that hath,
 may, or shall preten title to come to this crown by
 the untimely death of her Maiesty so vickedly
 procured (which God for his mercies sake forbid)
 may be aduanced. We not only sweare and bind our
 selues, not only iointly but seuerally, neuer to accept
 vvv, or fauour, any such pretended successors, by
 vvhom, or for vvhom any such detestable act shall
 be committed or attempted, or any that may any way
 claime by or frō such a person or pretended successor
 as is aforesaid, by vvhom or for vvhom such an act
 shalbe attempted or committed, as unworthy of any
 gouernement in any Christian Realme or ciuill so-
 cietie. But do also vvv and further protest, as we
 are most bound, and that in the presence of the E-
 ternall & euerliuing God, to prosecute such person
 or persons to the death vvith our ioint & particu-
 lar forces, & to take the uttermost reuenge of thē,
 that by any meanes possible vvece, or any of vs can
 deuise

denise, and doe, and cause to be denised and done,
for their utter ouerthrowe and extirpation.
And to the better corroboration of this our
loyall Bond and Association, Wee doe also testi-
fie by this Writting, that Wee doe confirme the
contents heereof, by our oathes corporall taken
vppon the holie Euangelistes, with this ex-
presse condition, that no one of vs shall for
anie respecte, or persons, or causes, or for feare
or reuerde separate our selues from this As-
sociation, or faile in the prosecution thereof,
during our liues, vppon paine to be by the rest
persecuted and suppressed, as periured persons,
and as publicke enemies to God and our Queene,
and our native countrie. To vvhich punish-
ment and paines Wee doe voluntarlie submit
our selues, and euerie of vs, vvithout benefite
of anie exception to bee heereafter challenged
by anie of vs vnder anie colour or pretext.
In vvitness of al vvvhich premisses to be inuolably
kept, We do to this vvriting put our hands and
seales, & shall be most ready to accept
and admit any other hereafter
to this our society & asso-
ciation. Dated

An. Dom.

1584.

THis Act was made vp into severall instruments, and sent to severall shires for obtaining a generall approbation and consent vnder the noble-mens and gentle-mens hands and scales, whervnto manie of a preposterous zeale, did redilie yeelde: diverse of the wiser sort, of all degrees and states of persons refused modestlie to ratifie and confirme the same: because by due examination hereof they perceived that the generall words therein contained might easilie bee wrested to a verie hard construction, contrarie to equitie, and the minds of the makers thereof. And further they iudged it vnconscionable that such as might pretend title to the crowne, beeing in their owne persons guiltie of no heinous offence, (though they by whome they shoulde claime were convict thereof) shoulde vtterlie from hence bee debarred of their right. This opinion howsoever it displeased men at that instant, yet at the Parliament ensuing the same being duely weighed, an act was made which limited
this

this sharp penalty, only to the persons offending, without any prejudice to their heires, if they were not consenting to any wicked act or attempt, devised or enterprised against her Maiesty. Which act of Parliament because it strengtheneth and expoundeth the former act of Association, and cleerlie dissolveth this great doubt, which Dolman esteemeth vnsoluble, I haue heer set down, as it is in the originall recordes.

ANNO 27. ELIZ. CAP. I.

FOrasmuch as the good felicity and comfort of the whole estate of this Realn, consisteth only next vnder God, in the suretie and preservation of the Queenes most excellent maiestie: and for that it hath manifestly appeared, that sundrie wicked plots and meanes haue of late bene devised and laid aswell in forrain parts beyond the seas, as also within the Realme, to the great endangering of her highnesse most royal person, and to the vtter ruine of the whole common weale, if by Gods mercifull prouidence the same had not bene reuealed. Therefore, for preventing of such great perils as might heereafter otherwise growe by the like detestable & diuelish practises, at the humble sure and earnest petition and desire of all the LL. spirituall and

temporal, and the commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority therof, **B E I T** enacted and ordained, if at any time after the end of this present Session of Parliament, any open invasion or rebellion shall bee had or made, into or within any of her Maiesties Realmes and Dominions, or any act attempted tending to the hurt of her Maiesties most Royall person, by or for any person that shall or may pretend any title to the crowne of this Realme after her Maiesties decease, or if any thing shall bee compassed or imagined tending to the hurt of her Maiesties most Royall person by any person, or by the priuity of any person that shall or may pretend title to the crowne of this Realme, **T H A T T H E N**, by her Maiesties commission vnder her great seale, the LL. and others of her Maiesties priue counsell, and such other LL. of Parliament to be named by her Maiestie, as with the said number of the privy counsell shall make vp the number of 24. at the least, having with them for their assistance in that behalf, such other of the Iudges of the Courtes of Recorde at Westminster as her highnesse for that purpose shall assigne or appoint, or the more part of the same Counsell, Lords, and Iudges shall by vertue of this act haue authoritie to examine al & everie of the offences aforesaid, & all circumstances thereof, and therupon to giue sentence or judgement, as vpon good prooffe the matter shall appeare vnto them. And that after such sentence and judgement given & declaration thereof made and published by her Maiesties

ties proclamation vnder the great seale of England, ALL PERSONS against whome such sentence or judgement shall be so given and published, shall be excluded and disabled for ever to haue or claime, or pretend to haue or claime the crowne of this Realme, or of any her Maiesties Dominions, any former Lawe or statute whatsoever notwithstanding. And that therevpon all her highnes subiects shall and may lawfullie by vertue of this act, and her Maiesties direction in that behalfe, by all forcible and possible meanes pursue to death every such wicked person by whome or by whose meanes, assent, or priuie, anie such invasion or rebellion shall bee in forme aforesaid denounced to haue beene made, or such wicked act attempted, or any other thing compassed or imagined against her Maiesties person, and all their actors, comforters and abettors.

If anie such detestable act shall bee execute against her Maiesties most royall person, whereby her self shall be taken away (which God of his great mercie forbid) that then every such person by or for whome, anie such act shall be executed *and their issue beeing in anie wise assenting & privie to the same, shall by vertue of this act bee excluded and disabled for ever to haue or claime or to pretend to haue or claime the said crowne of this Realme or anie other her Maiesties Dominions, &c. AND TO the end the intention of the Lawe may bee effectuallie executed, if her Maiesties lyfe shall bee taken away by anie violent or vnnatural means (which God defend)

Mark this
clause.

BE IT further enacted by the authority as
 foresaid, that the LL. and others which shall bee
 of her Maiesties privie Counsell, at the time of
 her decease, or the more part of the same counsell
 joining to the for their better assistace, five other
 Earles, & seven other LL. of Parliam. at the least,
 (foreseeing that none of the saide Earles, LL. or
 counsell be known to be persons that may make
 any title to the crowne) choose persons which were
 chief Iustices of either bench, maister of the Rol-
 les and chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, at the
 time of her Maiesties death, or in default of the
 said Iustices, maister of the Rolles, and chief Ba-
 ron some other of those which were Iustices of
 some of the Courts of record at Westminster at
 the time of her decease, to supply their places, or
 anie 24. or more of them, wherof eight to be LL.
 of Parliament, not beeing of the privie counsell,
 shall to the vttermost of their power and skill,
 examine the cause and manner of such her Ma-
 iesties death, and what persons shalbee any way
 guiltie thereof, and all circumstances concerning
 the same, according to the true meaning of the
 Act, and therevpon shall by open proclamation
 publish the same without any delay by all forci-
 ble and possible meanes prosecute to death all
 such as shall be found to be offenders therein, &
 all their aiders and abettors. And for the doing
 whereof, and for the withstanding and suppress-
 sing of any such powers and force as shall anie
 way bee leuied & sturred for the disturbance of
 the due execution of this Law, they shall by ver-
 tue of this act haue power and authoritie not
 onlie

onlie to raise and vse such forces as shall in that behalfe be needfull and convenient, but also vse all other things and meanes possible and necessarie for the maintenance of the same forces, & prosecution of the same offenders. And if any such force shall bee levied or sturred in disturbance of the execution of the Law by any person that shall or may pretend anie title to the crown of this Realme, whereby this Law may not in all things be fullie execute, according to the true effect and meaning of the same, **THAT** then euerie such person shall by vertue of this act bee excluded and disabled for ever to haue or claime or to pretend to haue or claime the crowne of this Realme, or of any other her Maiesties Dominions, anie other forme, Law, or statute whatsoever to the contrarie.

BE IT further enacted, &c. That all and everie the subiects of her Maiesties Realmes and Dominions, shal to the vttermost of their power aide and assist the said Counsell, and al other the Lords and other persons to be adjoined to them for assistance as is aforesaid in all things to bee done and executed according to the intencion & effect of the Lawe. And that no subiect of this Realme shall in anie wise bee impeached in bodie, lands, or goods, at any time heereafter for any thing to be done or executed, according to the tenor of the Law, anie Law or statute heere tofore made to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding.

And whereas of late manie of her Maiesties good and faithfull subiects, haue in the name of

God, and with the testimonie of good conscience, by one vniforme manner of writing vnder their hands and seales, and by their severall oathes voluntarilie taken, joined themselves together in one bond & association, to withstand to the vttermost all such malicious actions and attempts against her Maiesties Royall person. Nowe for the full explaining of all such ambiguities and questions, as otherwise might happen to grow by any sinister or wrong construction or interpretation to bee made or inferred of or vpon the words and meaning thereof: **BE IT DECLARED** and enacted, &c. That the same association, and everie article and sentence therein contained, aswell concerning the disallowing, excluding, and disabling of anie person that may or shall pretend anie title to come to the crowne, as also for the pursuing and taking revenge of anie person for any such attempt, shall, or ought to be in all things expounded and adjudged according to the true intent and meaning of this act, & not otherwise, nor against any other person or persons &c.

THESE

THese acts of association and Parli-
ment are by Dolman confounded,
as if they were both one, vncertain, whi-
ther of grosse ignorance or deep malice.
In the margent hee calleth them the sta-
tute of association, whereby if he meane
the act of association severallie, it seem-
eth he knew not the statute which expou-
deth the act, and giveth it the force that
it hath, and without which it may be as
lightlie reiected, as it is by him weightily
vrged: for it is well knowne, that by this
act of association all were not bound, see-
ing manie refused to signe and seale the
same, doubting what particulars might
be carried vnder generall tearmes. Next,
these instruments bound onelie the par-
ties agreeing, of whom a great number
are now dead, whose heires succeeding
to their fathers places in the common-
wealth, must also renew in their own per-
sons their fathers bonds, before the same
proue anie thing preiudiciall. Thirdlie,
manie did yeeld for feare or facility, who
without all question for such like respects

will be also content to yeeld to the contrarie. Lastlie, it was a private order, and no act of Parliament, & therevpon could be of no force or strength to binde as a law, before it was confirmed by Parliament. And to yeeld a little further, thogh all the hands and seales in England had beene got to it, yet it coulde not trulie haue beene esteemed or thought to be, or haue the force of an act of parliament, seeing they were not freelie and iointlie given, but secretelie and severallie vrged and begged: whereby it is manifest that this matter is more in shew and report, then in substance and effect.

Ormalice.

Again, if by this statute, he meane the act of Parliament ratifying and allowing the act of association, he manifestlie bewrayeth his impudencie and rooted malice against the Scottish king, in misalleaging the words of the statute: for whereas the statute bindes not the heires of anie that shoulde attempte or procure the Queens death, or be privy or accessory to the same, to anie penalty of losse of their right,

right, claime, title, pretence or action, that they haue or may haue to the crown of England, vnlesse they be consenting there-vnto. On the contrarie, Dolman wittinglie and willingly, against his own conscience (as it seemeth) perverteth the statute, and in alleadging of it, leaveth out that clause, which he knewe would make most against him, and cleerlie dissolve that doubt, which before he iudged to admit no solution.

But without doubt, if Dolman was impudent in falsifying the statute, he will peradventure be nothing ashamed to ad-vouch, that the Scottish king was privie to his mothers conspiracies, thereby to make that clause (of the heires not consenting) frustrate and of no benefite to him. A shamelesse person may affirme what he will, but this were an hard matter to proue, and contrarilie, it is an easie matter to disproue it: for who knoweth not that this were a most malicious slander, seeing in all the examinations & depositions of such as were convicted for

her actions, nothing could be found that might found that way: neyther indeede was it possible: for the actions of the mother and the sonne was so farre different, as the East is from the West: the one a papist and a maintainer of superstition: the other a protestant and enemy to all superstition: the one adhering to that which was falsely called the holy league: the other puklikely opposed himselfe to the same, and motioned a counter-league: the one a follower and favourer of the house of Guise, the most pernicious enemy that Engl. had in their time, the other in a manner ruled & governed by our Soveraigne, the surest and firmest friend she hath in Europe, as plainlie appeared An. 1588. And brieflie the whole frame & course of their liues was in some sort one opposite to the other.

But to proceede further, though I shoulde admit that this clause were left out, and that the statute, as Dolman alleadgeth, tooke hold, not onlie vpon the parties offending, but also vpon their heires,

heires, yet the Scottishe king can not be preiudiced in this case of the crown, if he may haue the benefit of the like presidēts to lean vnto, that others before him haue had, without fetching forrain examples, which might be infinitelie alleadged: I will content my selfe with the prooffe of that which I affirme in two kings of this realme of late memorie, Edward 4. and Henrie 7. who were by Parliaments attainted, and holden conuicte of high treason, notwithstanding this was no impediment or hinderance to them to barr them from enioying the crowne when their time came. I am not ignorant that it was aunswered by some concerning them two & such others, that they came to the crowne as being called by Parliament, and not by any vertue and force of their right. But it may be more trulie replied to thē that they tel but a tale: for all Engl. knoweth that they came in before they were sent for by Parliament, & claimed it by sword before they were called or then they might haue gone without

Margaret
countesse of
Salisburie &
her sonne
Henry Poole.

it for ever. Nay, the Parliaments did no otherwise admit them at all, but in regarde of their rights and claimes. And who doubts that the house of Huntington should haue good right, if the former rights were spent and ceased, notwithstanding the moſte of them by whome it doeth claime, were by King Henrie the eight, and his father King Henrie the ſeuenth for treasons cut off, & their attainders allowed by Parliament. I think verilie the Scottiſhe King is to looke for no leſſe fauour then ſo lately her Maieſties grand-father & great grand-father haue had: yea, and all they which ſince that time without any queſtion or impeachment haue enjoyed the ſcepter by them, and which others may hope for if it ſhall come to their turne. And the rather that his loue to our Prince and countrie, and the friendship and amitie by him maintained hath bene firmer and ſurer during all his raigne, then it was in the time of any his progenitours, notwithstanding hee hath had greater occaſions of grieuances,

vances, and they more bonds which might haue tied them vnto vs. M. Bowes making relation of some of the Kings Christian speeches, protested, that hee hath heard the King say manie times, that he would not be touched so much as in thought with a desire of her Maiesties death, if it might gaine him the present possession of all her dominions: yea of all the realmes and kingdomes of the world. And he added further that he heard him discourse most wiselie and religiouse of the impietie and madnes of some men, who by the iust judgements of God haue defeated themselves for ever, of that, which in due season they might haue come vnto, if they had not followed perverse and wicked courses to compass it, before the iust time at which they shoulde haue got it. Lastlie, to admit with Dolman that this statute was good and of sufficient force to barre the Queene of Scots, and all such as might claime that way, yet all this cannot defeate or hinder the Scottishe King of that right

which commeth in to him by his father, and which hath the firste and next place, if his mothers title should abate and surcease, as I haue alreadie sufficientlie prooved.

But this abuse and deceiving of the common people by mis-reporting the tenor and intent of the act of Association is (by the like meanes of whispering and muttering in the eares of the ignorant) seconded with an other suggestion and slander more grosse and impudent then the former, for the better perswading & helping forwardes (as it may seeme) of the other error. So as both of them doth appeare to bee derived from the same fountaine. And this is it forsooth, that as the Scottishe King is debarred from the crowne by one act of Parliament, so her Maiestie by another act of Parliament hath the disposing of it referred to her last will, of purpose to defeate the saide King, as they would beare, vs in hand. As though her Maiestie were deprived of memorie and reason, and had quite forgotten

The opinion
of conferring
to the Queen
by Parliamēt
the establi-
shing of the
successor by
her last will
confuted.

gotten the fruit of such pretended willes
of her noble brother and father, or deli-
ted to followe and embrace such courses
by which her sister and shee, were like to
haue lost their kingdomes, liberties and
lives: or that through ignorance she doth
vnder-goe too weghtie a burthen for the
whole kingdome to beare: to wit, to dis-
pose of the crowne by discretion, and
seeth not, that she doth sowe the seede of
horrible miseries, which are to spring &
grow from so crabbed and wicked roote.
But if they will not haue her so forgetful
and senselesse, as I am sure they will not,
then are they more iniurious to her: who
doth make her to seeke purposelie to em-
barke her moſte faithfull and loyall sub-
iectes in moſte furious and raging seas of
dole-full calamities after her death,
whome she hath bene so carefull to pre-
serue in all her lifetime: and withall will
haue her (contrary to al her most prince-
lie courses) to bee more led with an vn-
iust respect of some person, her affection,
or will, then to be ruled with the due re-

garde of good right, the true heire, equitie, and reason. They deserue ill her gracious favours who weigh not (so as their lies may take place) how highlie they derogate from her sacred honour. Howe deepelie they impeache her of falshood in violating her promises and leagues, made and ratified with the Scottish king, and his mother, and so often renewed before moste honourable witnesses of both the Realmes, and by manie Embassadors at several times, I mervaile strangely how they can bee ignorant of her Maiesties most excellent and most wise speech delivered to Metland the Scottish Embassador concerning this same purpose, about the third yeere of her raigne, which is extant to the view of all those that can or will read the same, both in our Chronicles which are *Cum Privilegio*, and in the Scottish Chronicles permitted to be vsed heere freelie of all men. Her speeches were so Princelie and royall, and so manifestlie knowne both to the Englishe and Scots, that Buchannan (though hee

was a Scot) coulde not choose but set them down in the same words, and with the same grace, to her highnesse eternal praise & commendation. I will alleadge some few sentences onelie in the authors owne wordes, which may serue to cleere this matter which wee haue in hande.

Si quid (saith her Maiestie to the Scottish Embassadour) mihi humanitus acciderit, nunquam tamē illud cōperiet (Regina vestra) quicquam à me factum fuisse, quod ius (illud) quod illa sibi in regnum Anglia esse asseverat, aliqua ex parte ledat aut imminuat, &c.

And a little after. *Ac Deum presentem nostri sermonis arbitrum testor, me neminem secundum meipsam nosse, quē illi præferam, aut si res in controversiam veniat (qui) eam possit excludere. Tu qui competant nostri (inquit) quibus tantum opibus, aut qua virium fiducia misselle illa tantam rem attentabunt, &c.*

And in the conference of another day. *Nec minus prudentiam (procerum vestrorum) amplector, quod sua securitati prospiciant, & à fundendo Christiano sanguine abherreant: cui fa-*

The Queenes speech
Englished.

If it shall please God to call mee, yet your Queene shall never find that I haue done any thing which may hurte or impare, that right which shee claimech to the kingdom of England in ancient iure. And I call God to witness the hearer of this our conference, that I know none, next to my self, whom I can preferre before her, or if the matter shoulde come in controversie, that can debar her. You knowe what the Competitors are: vpon what confidence of ability or power can those simple things attempt so high a matter? And I doe highly commend the wisdom of your noble men, that woulde both provide providently for their owne safetie, and avoid by all means the effusion of christian blood, which I confesse could not be saued if any faction shoulde oppose it.

selfe in the claime of the
kingdome. But where is
that faction, or by what co-
fidence of any power can it
presume so to doe.

*teor parci non posset, si qua factio se obij-
ceret qua regnum sibi vendicaret: Sed
qua tandem illa erit, aut quibus viribus
freta.* And so foorth in the whole

course of her most Princelie speeche. By
which, Sir, you may better discern and
learne from her Maiesties owne mouth,
then you can by any mal-contents mali-
cious suggestion. First, what is her opini-
on concerning the person of the right-
full heire, which doth not slip from her
vnawares, and not thinking of it, but is
deliberatlie and most advisedlie delive-
red, accompanied with an attestation of
God the hearer and witnes of that confe-
rence. Secondlie, that she doth not at all
dislike the desire of the Scottish Queene,
seeking to haue her right made knowne,
for the avoiding of bloodshed, and such
other good respectes: notwithstanding
shee refused to yeelde to the demand for
manie reasons by the authour mentio-
ned. Thirdlie, that by her iudgement al
the rest of the Competitors (which wer
thē stronger, wiser, & much more popu-
lar,

lar then they that are now) were vtterlie of no power or force, to matche or encounter with the Scottish Queen. Fourthlie, that shee verie well did discern and foresee what merciles effusion of Christian blood would ensue, if any Competitor shoulde bee set vp against the true heire. Lastlie, most Princelie promises never to impare or impeache in anie iote the Scottish Queenes right. Therefore the impietie of them (who would burthen her highnesse with such dishonorable practises contrary to her princelie worde) is no lesse damnable then the indignitie offered is punishable, for that they make her who is and hath beene euer accounted by al estates (according to her Posie *Semper eadem*) most constant, and faithfull in all her promises, and leagues, princelie and vprightlie minded in all her speeches, pretences, and actions, and the verie patterne of true clemency, for that they make her I say wavering, vnfaithfull, periured, deceitfull, and the onelie plotter and contriver of

The Queenes
posie *Semper
Eadem.*

the causes and grounds of most bloodie warres, which by her owne confession must fall out amongst faithfull Christians, and such true hearted subiects who haue tendered no thing so much, as her safetic and life. To perclose this treatise for his right, if we may giue any credite to her Maiesty (who is more to be beleevd and rested vpon in this case then any subiect in England) the Scottishe King needes not to distrust the strength of his title, or to feare any dishonorable or vnconscionable courses, that shall at anie time proceed from her Maiestie.

The impediment of king Henrie 8. his will is answered by Rosse and the rest, whom I haue alleadged: other surmises of recordes reserved and laide vp, I know not where, to his preiudice, because the opposers did esteeme them to bee but waking dreames, and not worthie to bee alleadged, I likewise passe them over, as not worthie to be answered, thinking them in this respect wise that they pestered not their treatises with knowne vntruthes

truthes and lies, to the discredite of these thinges, which otherwise might carrie some colourable shewe, and they could not be excused of a grosse oversight, who stood so much vpon testaments & willes if there had beene anie likelyhoode of a better recorde.

Now I come to the other sort of arguments which do maintaine that notwithstanding his right be the best: yet the high Court of Parliament may lawfullie giue it from him to some English-man, whome for the respectes ensuing it shall thinke fitte to make choise. First there be manie Englishe Competitours who wil hardly indure a stranger to be preferred before them, for that they shal never be freed from his ielousie, which cannot be without the danger of their liues, the disturbance of the quiet and peace of the realme, and that to fortifie himselfe against them, he shal needs be constrained to bring in forraine forces. Secondlie, all English-men wil follow English competitours, for we cannot patientlie brooke

Dolmans respects answered and retorted.

- (say some) the government of strangers: and so joining together for our countries sake, wee neede not to feare, but that wee shall be strong enough against the Scottish king and all his confederates. Thirdlie, the two Nations are so alienated through their long and mortall warres, as they will never agree. Lastlie, which is a mayne point, the Scottish king will be more affected to his owne, & advance them to places of chiefe credite & countenance about him: so as the grea est comoditie that Engl. can look for is like to be the increase of more subiects. For the better cleering of these incōveniēces which in deede make great impressions in the mindes of manie English-men, I will handle these three thinges in order. First, whither for the alleadged respectes a Parliament can haue that power to take from him his right. Secondlie, whither these respectes or inconveniences alleadged are like to proue true. Thridlie, to whom (if not to him) it can be given, with the avoidance of these same
- or

or the like, or rather greater.

First, for the power of the Parliament, according to the bounden duetie of a faithfull and loyall subiect, and the place which I haue beene vouchsafed in it. I do acknowledge, and from my hart confesse that it is most sacred, most ample & large and hath prerogatiues and preheminences farre aboue anie Court what soever, which is established by God vnder the heavens. But yet with the confidence of a good conscience I am bold to advouch that which is the ground and foundation of al disputation in the Parliament house to witte, That the power and authoritie which it hath, is straightlie stinted & defined with the limites & meeres of iustice and equitie: and is appointed by God, as the power next to himselte to reforme and redresse wrongs and outrages which can not be holpen by any other meanes, and by good and wholesome lawes to procure the peace and wealth of the Realme. So as, the neerer it is to God, the more sound, sincere and vpright it ought

The Parllament cannot by any authoritie it hath take away a Kings right to the crown.

to be, beeing the Court of most pure and exquisite iudgement. If therefore by presumption of the great power and authoritie which it hath, it doe iniurie to anie man, or doe transgresse the bondes of right, I say this transgression is accounted of before God, not as the sinne of one private man, one Prelate, noble-man or Citizen, but as a combination & conspiracie of all the Prelates, noble-men & Citizens, yea, and of all the people of the whol land, to pronounce for pure iudgement, heynous iniquitie from the bench of highest Iustice. To this I adde further, that a Prince which hath the right (as we speake) of God, he is the ordinance, not of anie man, but of God, appointed and substituted by God himselfe, as his deputy for the maintenance of his truth, and to minister Iustice according to the good and wholesome lawes of that land over which he doeth place him: These grounds thus laide, I say, if the religious and wise king of Scots (having this right of God, as the alleadger of these inconveni-

veni-

ueniences doe admit) be willing to governe vs according to our owne lawes (as no question he will) it were the highest iniustice that England could do, for such surmises of imagined inconveniēces feared to ensue, to goe about to offer or doe to him that wrong, which is appointed, yea before God, in respect of his right annointed to bee the chiefe Officer and minister of Iustice and right to everie of vs, after her Maiestie. So the wickednes of this fact shall abound in this, if wee take from him his best right, who should preserve vs from all sorts of wronges. But some haue answered, that the Parliament may and hath taken the rightfull lands and livings of men, and hath repealed the acts & statutes of former Parliamēts. To this I replie, that as in a naturall bodie no man can be allowed to cutte off a member for blemishe or imperfection: but is esteemed wiselie and rightlie to take that member away, which without the helpe of such remedie was manifestly discerned to endanger the rest. So the

members of the politicke bodie may vpon the like respect of daunger, and not for likelyhoodes and imaginations, or surmised inconveniences (such as the alledged) are take away the lands, liuings, yea, or life of anie subiect. But where is this danger to be shewed here? seeing he will peaceablelie governe vs, with the preservation of our religion and lawes. And to say somewhat further, though our parliament may haue that power over every English subiect, as well competitours as others, to take or keepe backe from them (because they are vnder our power, being members of our owne bodie) that which otherwise is their due and right. Yet it is to be doubted whither it may likewise take or keepe backe his good right from the Scottish king, who is no subiect, neyther anie member incorporated with vs, but is the heade of an other politicke bodie. And this is a doubt, or rather Iudgement of some of the best diuines in England.

Againe, whensoever a Parliament is
said

ſaid to haue taken away mens lands or livings, or to haue repealed anie act or ſtature of a former Parliament, it is euer to be vnderſtood of lands, livings, and actes, which did concerne private men & not Princes. To whome whatſoever hath beene given by a free and lawfull Parliament, to ſtand and to remaine to them and their heires, I think you ſhal not find altered or taken away by another free Parliament, vnleſſe it were with the conſent of the ſaid Princes, or their heires to whome it was formerlie given: take for example the reſignation of Richard the ſecond. And therefore I take this for a ſure and ſound principle: If all the people of the whole Realme by common & voluntarie conſent, for themſelves and their poſteritie, do transferre and ſurrender the government of themſelues and their ſtate into the hands of ſome choſen man, to bee governed by him and his heires for ever, according to ſuch and ſuch lawes, as they ſhall agree vppon, or haue alreadie eſtabliſhed: that they can-

not in reason (if he be willing to preserve their lawes) thinke, that that power doth yet rest in themselves, of which by consent of all the people iointlie giving, and the Prince receiving, they had formerlie dispossessed themselves. And if this be true *Par non habet potestatem in parem*, then much more this, *minor non habet in maiorē*. And by consequence this posterity thus dispossessed of the power and interest of bestowing the right, cannot make voide the act of their ancestors, in whome the saide power and right was actuallie and reallie, to dispose of their government before they bestowed it. Neither can the act of the rest of the members without the head & against it, be of that power & force that the ioined act of the head and whole members together is. For further prooffe heereof, when the whole line of Salomon ceased in Ieconias, coulde all the Iewes in the world by anie act, haue given the right of the title frō the house of Nathan? Though Salathiell the next successor of his line was about 38 degrees distant

distant from the said Ieconias, and the ground of his title aboue 400. yeeres old (and might therefore haue bene weaker more litigious, doubtfull and obscure, then it can be in the Scottish king, who is but the fifth in discent in direct line from the roote. Nay the same Ieconias before his deliverance out of prison (as is well declared by our famous countrey-man) appointed the said Salathiel to be his heire apparant, for which respect the Scripture speaketh of him, as of Ieconias sonne, saying that hee did beget him. And the ambition of the Machabees, vsurping (not without the pretence of manie worthie respects) the gouernement and sword in the weaknesse of the house of David, escaped not an horrible judgement of God, who gaue them vp to slaughter and murther one another, & to be led with the sprit of errors and doctrine of Devils. Alexander one of their kings beeing a Saducie (as manie more of them were) killed 50000. Pharises. Antigonus another king died with tor-

M. Broughton

ment of conscience, & vomiting blood. Iudas and all his brethren fell by the sword, others were poisoned, almost none died but by violence. And thus by God the revenger of the oppressed, that ambitious, though valiaunt, familie which against right had exalted it selfe, was headlong throwne downe and brought to a most shamefull and miserable end. By all which it is most evident & plaine, that not Iudas, or Simeon Macchabeus, because they were valiauntest, and for many true and good respects seemed fittest at that time to haue protected & releevd the oppressed and distressed servants of God: but some Matthan or Ioseph (though verie poore and base) because they were moste rightfull to the crowne, and they being rulers appointed by God should haue had the governmēt and guiding of Iuda. And so Sir, to make an ende of this firste reason, I pray you thinke with your self if it should fall out, that the Parliament for manie respectes should bestow the crown quite contrary to

to the expectation of these men, who stand so precisely for the absolute power and soveraigntie of it: imagine, I say, that such a thing fel out, do not you think that the case would be altered with them and perhaps, then would bee more bent against it, then nowe they are for it, this beeing alwaies such mens desire to haue the Parliaments followe them, and not they the Parliaments. But the meanest & simplest in al the land knowes this much, I hope, that the wisest men of the Realme are chosen out and sent to the Parliaments, not to determine or establishe whatsoever they will, but to advise, dispute and discerne what in reason & conscience they ought & should determine and conclude.

Secondly, that the Parliament cannot defeat the lawfull successor, is plaine by the iudgement of the Parliament it selfe: which in the coronation of any King or Prince, giueth not this reason of his preferment, because it seemed good to the Nobles and commons so to do, and so to

advauñce him: but quite contrarie, because hee is next and true heire and successor to such or such a Prince of late & famous memory, therefore it is his right that he & none else should be advanced. As who would say: he is not heire or successor because the Parliament declareth him to be so, but because hee is so, therefore it is that the Parliament by right ought and doeth declare him to bee so. Which ground and reason of the Parliaments dooing is so apparant and plaine, that the verie vsurpers, who were otherwise sequestred from all reason & right, thought it not sufficient to be established and confirmed by Parliament, vnles they had some ground or shewe of succession to warrand it withall. So Henrie the fourth did more rest vpon the blind pretence of a claim by Edmond crook-back, then vppon the voice of the Parliament, though it were strengthened with the resignation of Richard the second. Also Richard the third rather then hee would haue bene without some shew of succession,

Sir Thomas
More in the
storie of his
raigne.

sion, howe bare and weake soever, did choose to cause proclaime at Paules Crosse, his mother an harlot, & his brethren bastards. And thus hee sought the kingdome no otherwise, then by right of succession, as doeth plainlie appeare by the determination of his counsell, Doctor Shawes preaching, & the Duke of Buckinghames speech in King Richards behalfe, to the same effect. By which you see, that even in the conceit of the vsurpers themselves, the mostelying, infamous and falsely forged pretence of next and most lawful blood, is to be preferred before any Parliament, as beeing the ground and warrand for iustifying and cleering the acts and doings of the same. And if the crowne might be lawfully given at the pleasure of a Parliament, what reason is there to call Rich. 3. or any such others, vsurpers: for they cannot deserue so odious a name, receiving the crowne no otherwise, then at the hand of the parliament. To shut vp this second reason, vnles the right of succession were a thing

impregnable by any Parliament, by what reason, or with what face could the Duke of Yorke or Edward the fourth, so boldly & confidentlie haue claimed the crown in the verie Parliament it selfe. Or howe coulde the Realme of England haue adjudged it to them, which by so many parliaments going before had bene confirmed to three severall Kings of the house of Lancaster.

My last reason (which I pray God everie man whome it doeth concerne may take to heart, and chieflie they who are set at the helme) is brought from the lamentable and bloodie fruites which wee haue reaped by such bastard succession established by Parliaments. These dolefull remembrances should now make vs wise least in the end we be taught by the mistresse of fooles. Of al these that since the daies of the Conquerour haue wrongfullie attained to the crowne, and haue had it confirmed by voice of Parliament, who is almoste hee or shee, that hath not bene forced to leaue it, with an expiation of

on of blood. I doe heere referre mee to our Chronicles, to the vsurpers, their adhaerents and complices, and to a mightie number also of the guiltlesse and better side. Yea who doth not know that this manner of wrongfull intrusion into the higher powers and places hath often times procured rightfull Kings vpon ielousie and suspicion to cut away such of their own blood, as they did feare would take advantage of the like courses. To conclude these my reasons concerning the limited power of the Parliaments, I beseech God, that they may rather seeke to maintaine their honorable power, by dooing that which is conscionable and right, then to bolster out wrong by the strength of their power, seing there is no wisdom nor counsell, nor any strength of man that can prevaile against him who doth over-rule all things by his omnipotent power.

It followeth next to examine the reasons, for which some English-man may be thought fitter to be advanced to the

Inconvenien-
ce, objected
by Dolman
in admitting
the King of
Scots to suc-
cede, refuted

government of the realme: notwithstanding it be yeelded that the king of Scots hath the true right. The first is this, there be manie English competitors, who will not indure a stranger to be preferred before them, for that they shall never bee free from his ielousie, which cannot bee without the hazarde of their liues, the trouble of the realme, and that to fortify himself against them, he shall needes be constrained to bring in forraine forces. To these points I do answere: first, that he
 1 is no stranger as is alreadie proved, and if his right bee from God, all the competitors (though they were a thousand more then they are) stand bound to receiue him, vnlesse wilfullie against their conscience they wil seeme to become aduer-
 2 saries both to God and man. Secondlie what if he do answere that hee will haue them to indure him to guide and to rule them, and that he will be more vnwilling to forgoe his right at their vniust opposition, then they will to yeeld it to him at
 3 his iust demand. Thirdly, the more competi-

petitors they bee, for them it is so much the worse, for a kingdom devided against it selfe cannot long stand, so as this objection maketh more against themselves & our Realme, then against the Scottishe King: for whosoever get the victorie, wee are still overthrowne, and this is the onlie meanes that will weaken them all. Fourthlie, if anie of them should wrongfullie attaine to it, is it like that he would trust the rest of the Competitors or their familiars? Nay, as Salomon saith, a guiltie conscience doth feare where there is no cause, much more would he I trowe, that should come by it wrongfullie be affrighted & trubled dayly, to behold such eie-sores, who wer set for his kingdom & life. The regarde of their country, kinred or acquaintance woulde but little perswade him or them to trust the one to the other: for according to the old proverbe, a crowne will know no kinred. And it is probable that the rest of the competitors if they must needs go without it, will forgoe it sooner to him that hath the right,

then to anie man else, especiallie he bee-
ing a king, and of such favour, force and
affinity with our neighbour Princes. But
most of all, for that they may well thinke
if they do not cleaue to him, yet there be
manie others of their countrie that will.

- 5 Fiftlie, I confesse there be more that are
called Competitours then I wishe there
were, but I stand fullie assured that none
but one can haue the true right, & there-
fore who soever hath it not, if he can see
it, and be wise, will follow him that hath
it, that he may satisfy his consciēce when
his cause is good, and prevent the ielou-
sie and overthrow, which now he doeth,
or hereafter may feare when the true suc-
cessor shall come by his right. Sixtlie,
6 though the competitours bee manie, yet
they are nothinge such, as within these
few yeeres they haue beene: yea they and
their favourers (of whome there was ma-
nie valiant and wise) are so removed by
the will of God and taken out of his way,
as it may seeme that there is a mightie
providence of God strongly working for
him

him to defend him in his right. Seventh-
lie, the way for the Competitours to bee
freed from ielousie, is to preserue the
publike peace of the countrie, as is pre-
tended, and to avoid & escape the forces
and tirannie of strangers is, not to refuse
him his right, but rather chearefullie &
before all others to further him to it: for
if they who should be his own do wrong-
fullie resist him, who can iustlie blame
him, if he take the aide of strangers, and
if by such meanes the peace of the realm
should be disturbed, the cause of it is not
in him, that asks nothinge else but his
owne, but in them, who against all equi-
tie refuse to giue him the same. Woulde
to God we could weigh and consider this
in reason, that they are most worthie to
dwell still in trouble, who wittinglie and
willinglie are readie to procure it. Lastly
seeing the troublers of their own houses
shall inherite the winde, the competitors
if they haue a minde to enioy their livin-
ges, liberties and liues, are rather to seeke
instantlie that by a lawfull Parliament

the title may be tryed, & given to whom of right it doeth belong: for the throne is not establiſhed by iniquitie, but hee ſhall beſt brooke it who ſhoulde haue it by right. By this meanes the competitors ſhall be ſecured, the ſeate of the Prince more fortified, by his good title beeing acknowledged and confirmed in Parliament, then ever it could bee by anie forraine forces: all parties ſhall bee pleaſed, and both theſe noble realmes which doe at this preſent enioy the light of the goſpell, ſhall be ſatiſfied and ſetled in peace and tranquillitie.

2

The ſecond reaſon that is alleadged in transferring the right of the Scottiſhe king to ſome Engliſh-man, is this. Al Engliſh-men will follow Engliſh competitors (for we can not brooke well the government of ſtrangers) and if wee ioine faſt together for the countries ſake, wee ſhall be ſtrong enough againſt the Scottiſh king and all his confederates. For anſwere, If wee may beleue the Spirit of God, they that haue thus percloſed their
recko-

reckonings shall finde themselves short of the iust accompt: for when the wayes of a man are acceptable to God, hee will make all things in league with him: yea, and his verie enemies to become his friends. If therefore the king of Scots do follow a good cause by good and lawfull meanes, I doubt not but many thousands will follow him, which wee haue not as yet thought of. And seeing the verie heathen Philosopher preferred truth before his dearest freends, haue wee anie reason to imagine that faithfull Christians in worke of iustice and equitie will endure to be couëted worse then the faithles heathen. What? will they hazarde their consciences for loue of their countrie-men? That competitor shall not be well advised, that trusteth any follower, who hath more regard of his countrie then conscience. The wise will be loath to buy grievous repentance at so high a rate. Secondlie, say (Sir) that all the Englishmen follow English competitors, yet we haue some reason to doubt of the Welsh-men,

Arist. 1. Ethic.

who are not so much led with affection to vs, as they are carried to him with the loue of their supposed kinred and blood, and possessed with the credite of their old prophetic bookes. And whome (may we say) doe these English-men followe, whose leaders beeing competitors doth adhere to the king, eyther for hatred of the other, or for conscience, or for feare, or for hope. Yet I admit he get neither English nor Walshe, but that both of them sticke fast to the English competitours, and ioine all their endeavours and forces to aid and assist them. Are wee not then ioined together, like ioined ropes of sand? We doe make a badde choise, mee thinks, to ioine vs to them, that cannot be and will not bee ioined to themselves: no, not so much ioined as the legs of iron and clay. And it may seeme a strange paradoxe to a man of vnderstanding, that rather then we would be friends and subjects to the Scottish king, we are content to be aduersaries and enemies to our selves: and so as wee may avoide him, care
not

Dan. 2.

not to be overthrowne. For though he & his confederates should willingly forgoe vs, wee are never a whit the better. Nay, then much worse, for by that meanes the questiō of the Competitors is put further off from an end. The reason is plaine, if the first right and best bee displaced for some respectes, will there not be as great or greater respectes found against the second & third. I durst pledge my head, that there woulde not bee wanting some great and popular personages, who with some respecte or aspecte to themselves woulde alleadge greater respects against all the English competitors then anie of these be which are alleadged against the king of Scots. And thus by the competitors and their complices, without the helpe of the Scottishe king or his confederates, wee are made strong enough to destroy our selves for certane respectes. For remedie of this inconuenience, if the right be his, I thinke that conscience & our naturall affection to the safety of our selves and our countrie shoulde make vs
most

most willingly and heartily receave him:
of which there may bee the better hope
conceived, for that our nation is of it self
more enclined to the subjection of our
Prince, to obedience to our lawes, to rea-
son and to right, then anie other people
which is betweene the two poles. And
who can say for certaine whither manie
haue not already received him in their
heartes? The surmises for it are great.
What shoulde make vs thinke but that
Protestants would embrace him for loue
of Religion? Both Protestants and civill
Papists (as I may tearme them for consci-
ence they haue none) for a regard of his
right? the rest of the Papists for feare of an
heavier yoke? (for none of the could ever
expect greater favour at anie successors
handes, then at his, who hath already
shewed himself too too remisse in puni-
shing so manie of his owne subiectes of
their profession: neither is there any cō-
petitor a Papist of whome they might
look to attaine their desires.) Lastlie, the
Neuters for hope of advancemēt which
they

they loue as their God, or for feare to hazarde and perish their estate, which they shunne and hate as the Diuell, woulde a thousand to one sooner submit themselves, then in vaine oppose to both the other two. And to conclude this inconuenience, though hand shoulde ioine in hand to commit iniquitie, yet the Lorde of Hostes hath meanes to dissolue, cast down, cast away, and to destroy: for what the Lorde standeth for, no Policie shall stop it.

The third reason for giving the crown to some English-man from the Scottish King is, the naturall aversion of the two nations, which (as some do affirme) will never agree though they were made one. To this I answer, that it is a bare presumption without any good ground or warrant. Nay, the contrarie is true as we al see: for during her Maiesties most happy government, we and they by meanes of the league and amity of the two Princes haue stil maintained brotherly friendship and peace, in so much that the re-

membrance of our olde enmitie is almost vtterlie vanished and gone. Now if the concord and league of the Princes hath bene able to make and to continue vs both quiet after this sort, why may we not much more bee linked in amitie and sound friendship, when of two nations we are made one, by the vnitie of one & the same Prince, seeking with an indifferent affection the quietnesse and peace of both Realmes, as beeing one, like to him self?

Secondlie, this reason of the prognosticated dis-agreement to dissuade their vniting, is in effect, and doth so sound in my eare, as if one should say: This sick & diseased man wil hardlie brooke his Phisicke, though he should be made to take it, therefore if you will be advised by mee you shal minister him none: which argument ought rather to bee inverted & turned over to this forme. These two Realmes could never hitherto agree because they were still kept as two: therefore to worke and settle their agreement, it is absolute-

folutelie necessarie, that they bee vnited in one, that the ground and occasion of all the warres beeing taken away, al their contentions and battels may likewise surcease. But if any man be so weake to beleue, that because the discorde of the two Nations hath bene great: therefore their agreement can never be firme: he might by the same reason think, because we haue fought more battailes, and had bitterer warres, against and amongst our selves, then ever wee had with the Scots: that therefore the concorde and peace which our Nation did enioy vnder our Soveraigne Queene, it cannot be found, and that it were much easier to make a perfect amitie and vnion with the Scots, then that wee coulde be brought to bee faithfull and true hearted friendes with our selves. Well, the times and seasons doe change, and all thinges doe by them alter and turne, so as nothing can possibly stand at one stay, except that God, that turneth the wheelles of all thinges, stay the same: we are therefore to labour

to change to the best, and seeing by Nature we are so carelesse to be constant in good things, let vs never endeavour to be constant in bad things: for he that by diversitie of Religion can set the father against his owne sonne, can by the power and efficacie of his true Religion make of mortall enemies most faithfull friendes, and having so made them, hee can continue them so. Let God be iustified in his truth, and men manifested to bee lyars: when God is obeyed and his ordinance followed, it shall haue a blessing, contrarie to the expectation of men: for it is to be thought, that he may move the harts of anie subiects, who doth at his pleasure command the hearts of all Princes. And trulie in the sight & iudgemēt of man, it may seeine that at this present God hath a purpose to vnite vs, having in his providēce disposed of so many effectual means amongst vs, all which do concur most forcible to accomplishe that worke, vnitie of true Religion (which never doth want the bond of the spirit) vnitie of language,

guage, likenes of discipline and manners, the long peace and concorde of the Princes and countries, the often & next descent of the Scottishe king from the bloode royall of England, his rare wisdom and loue of Religion, with sound knowledge and iudgement in matters of the same, doeth diuine some extraordinarie charge & imployment from God, (for graces are never given but to fitte some place and calling answerable to them) the propagation from vs of manie of their noblest families, and no small number of their meaner houses (which doe carrie our surnames to this present day) doeth in a manner invite vs to bee of one familie or household. The removall of the moſte wiſe, heroicall and popular competitors and their fauourers, which might haue opposed, doeth ſmooth and plaine a way for him to come in. And the two countries, by ſeas not diſ-vnited, but making one Ilád, doth wiſh the two nations to make vp one people. Other means there are, which I doe heere omit, of

which a part are verie well set downe in the late Scottishe proclamation (full of affection and loue to vs) set out for making preparation against the Spaniards, and for the maintenance of peace of the borders, penned (as I am crediblie informed) by the king himselfe.

The last inconvenience which is alledged to be mervailous, and to bring more contempt & danger to the English state then all the other three, is this. The Scottishe king will be more affected to the Scots, and will advance them to the chiefe places of credite and confidence about him: so the English which hath hitherto beene accustomed to command and rule other nations, and not to obey or be ruled by anie, shall become subiect not only to the king, but also to the Scots whom once they did conquere. And this no English heart can indure. Besides the greatest commoditie that England can looke for, is like to bee none other, then the increase of more subiects. If this were true, as it is alledged, it were contempt,
domage

domage and danger I confesse, and could no waies be pleasing to any Englishman to be subiect to those whome they count their inferiors. But it may be more trulie answered thẽ it is obiected, that we need not doubt of his future affection, whose favour from time to time hath beene formerlie proved by good evidences, to all such of our nation as hath stooode in need of it. I haue heard diuers of them openlie confesse, that they had better hearing more gracious aunsweres, and speedier dispatches from him, then anie of his owne subiectes could get, or yet they themselves could ever get of the Queen: and speciallie one, whose sute (for an other Englishman that was committed to prison and condemned to be hanged) the king (though much busied) patientlie heard, red his petition, and (protesting that he had rather hang twentie of his owne knaues, then the poore man should take anie harne) gaue present direction for his enlargement, though manie reasons were alleadged to the contrarie by

some of his Nobility that were most gracious with him. This matter fel out verie lately as he that heard it of the petitioner himself did assure me. Yet this is nothing in respect of that which hee hath shewed during al the space of aboute twéty yeres. So as I hope hee is of that princelie nature that wee shall never be able to overcome him with kindenes. And I woulde know what iust occasion haue we thus to imagine, and thus to ghesse what his affection and inclination must bee at anie or at all times hereafter: as though everie man without possibilitie of divorce were so wedded to one affection, that no thing could alter or change it: when as we see that men of wisdome and of vnderstanding doe rule and frame their affections according to the better respectes, and as they see greater reason. Therefore wee may the more safelie conclude, that hee that is now perhaps more tenderlie affected to his owne, because he is more bounde to them by the rules of conscience and nature, will hereafter be more,
or

or at least no lesse affected to vs, if there be the like or greater respectes and precepts of conscience and nature why hee should do so. Neither can his present affection and favour be a sufficient rule or square, by which you may measure and iudge what his affection shall bee at all times to come. We are fully & throughlie taught, even by the instinct of nature, that the vilest monster which she bringeth out, or the cruellest beast which shee nourisheth, will favour and fane vp those of whome they haue good. And will not he to whom the heavens are so benefici- all in furnishing him with rare graces and gifts of bodie and minde, aduance, preferre, and make much of those, who haue or shall chearefullie and willinglie advance & preferre him before al others, even of their own nation. To whom (may we thinke) can hee more safelie commit his person & his state, then to them who for the confidence and assurance which they doe repose in him, haue committed to his trust, their livinges, liberties, liues,

and all that ever they can haue. Nay, it is without all question, that he who is so often, and by both his parents descended of English blood, wil in England become English and a favorer cheiflie of Englishmen, according to the speech (if not the prophetic) of his most noble auncestor, King Henrie the seventh, who in answer of the same doubt affirmed to his honorable counsell, that he made no question if any such thing should fall out, but the Scottish king beeing (as all Princes are by their royall nature) enclined to Maiestie, to statelines, to eloquence, to policie & to civilitie, should frame and conform himselfe to the better countrie, & be taken with a liking of the more honorable discipline, fashions, and carriage of England, the rather for that hee hath so ample and large a rewarde proposed to him for the same. The meanest Scottishmen that are settled in England are content to forget their countrie, kindred, & Parents, and to frame and apply themselves vnto vs, that they may freelic enioy
their

their poore condition or calling. And is it like that hee who may still retaine his subiectes, his countrie, his Queene, and children, will not apply himself to vs, in our lawfull and honourable desires, that hee may rule vs? Likenesse of manners doeth conciliate and fasten affections. Therefore for mine owne part I doubt not but ere he haue beene any long time with vs, he shall be so wonne to vs, & englisht with vs, by our naturall and reverent obedience to our Prince aboue other Nations, and by al the verteous and commendable parts of our civilitie, that Scotland shall haue more cause to feare their subiection to some Englishe deputie, then wee haue now to feare our subiection to the Scots. Trulie I meruaile not a little, when I do consider how vnwilling and froward wee are to receiue that kingdome beeing offered, which we haue fought for moste egerlie for manie hundreth yeers. Is not this the way to subordinate (if not to subdue) to vs, that people by policie, whome wee
could

coule not by force? Who beares the losse when we get the gain? They depart with the best member that their bodie can afforde, that they may become one bodie with vs. And to speake as I thinke, in taking their King wee take also their kingdome, which was wiselie foreseene of the afore-said Prince, who stood perfwaded that the worthier kingdome would annexe and drawe to it the lesser and weaker, and for the same purpose his moste famous sonne King Henrie the eight did earnestlie affect and go about at severall times, by promises, policies, giftes and threatninges to vnite the two Realmes, and their two Princes : first, when, with the allegation and aunswere of this our doubt, hee made offer of his onlie daughter and heire Ladie Mary to king Iames the fift, (the place of Holins. is worth the reading) And after when he sought in mariage for Prince Edward his sonne, the young Princessse the late Queene of Scotland: so as the refusall of the first, and breache of the last beeing
once

once agreed vppon, was the occasion of bitter warres, and great blood-shed betweene the two nations. And now the difference is no other then this that wee did seek before to annexe them vnto vs, and that they do seeke now to be annexed vnto vs. Therefore the ods is ours that they who did latelie refuse to giue vs their Queene, are now most willing and content that wee doe take their King. Wherein, in my opinion, we should bee as forward to receiue them, as they are willing to make offer of themselves, seeing it is plaine by prooffe of experience, that we shall no lesse keep our preheminence aboue the Scots, though wee submit our selves to the Scottish king, then wee haue kept it to this present day over the Walsh-men, notwithstanding wee did submit our selves to King Henrie the seauenth. Yet on the other part wee are not to think or expect, that he will quite abandon or banish them frō being about him, for that were rather to rent them of from vs, then to incorporate them with

vs in one Politicke bodie.

The second point for the commodity it will bee much more then the bare encrease of subjectes, if the opinion of a most faithfull and wise counsellor (as any this land hath) may haue anie credite with vs: who thought it the onlie safetie of England to stand fullie assured of our back dore. And indeede wee had never more neede to haue it fast, then at this time being environed and compassed about with so manie malicious and hatefull enemies, as in a manner having no faster friends then such as are our friends for their owne advantage: which giveth me occasion to distrust greatlie this new confirmed league with the French king, which (notwithstanding I wishe it may stand alwaies inviolable) yet I greatlie feare by the president of former experience that it will no longer stand then the Frēch-mē may see how to help themselves better by newe friendship, be it with Spaniards or others. And if we account it a great benefite that the Scottish king

This prophe-
cy of that pru-
dent man is
now proved
true.

is not our enemy in these broken times, is it not to be esteemed a thousand times a greater benefite to haue him made as fast and sure to vs, as if he were our country-man or native English-man borne, and one of our selves, and that we be increased and made vp with the accessse of his strength and kingdome, by which we shall be so fenced and fortified on that quarter without our charges, or imployment of our men (as now we are forced to doe) that no port or part of Engl. shall be surer. Nay, whereas now we are driven to seeke the amitie, and in a sort beg the fauour of forrain nations, yea, of the heathen and Turkes, and with infinite charges and lose of our men, to entertaine their friendship, beeing once enlarged and strengthened with the forces & power of Scotland, wee shall not neede to currie fauour with Mahomet or Muscovite, or weigh the displeasure or offence of all the Princes in the world. And Ireland, which (now stealing furniture and provision of munition from thence) doth

with flashing flames of rebellion, consume our people and emptie our coffers, shall then (being not onelie destitute of that aide, but having it all emploied against it self) be content with lesser charges then the owne renewes to bee ruled and to be kept in loyall obedience, having England on the one side, & Scotlād on the other to command it. Thus our treasures & powers shalbe encreased, our people spared, our subsidies eased, & our charges abated. Lastlie the encrease of subiectes, which some esteeme but as a matter of small or no importance. I affirme it to be the greatest cōmodity that anie kingdome could ever afford. I haue for my warrāt the words of as wise & rich a king as ever did raigne, who sayeth not, that wealth or riches, but that the multitude of subiectes are the honour of the Prince, and that for the want of subiects cōmeth the destruction of a Prince. That is, the multitude of subiects is the riches, strength, power, protection & stay of the kingdome, and it is the cause of al things
for

for which any state is honored & renowned: & for wāt of thē subjects any kingdom or state doth decrease & decay frō the glory and honour of the forenamed things: for any Politicall state is called in the Scripture a Prince, or King, and all these things that are accompanied with honor, or that procure the same, are called also by the name of honor. If therfore the right bee his, let vs stand perswaded though all the world would say the contrarie, the onlie way to attaine to riches, honor, and all kind of commodities is for conscience sake to yeeld to him his right. For he that cannot lie hath said, Godlinesse is great riches, & bringeth the contentation of minde: & in obedience to God there is wonderfull gaine. So to finish this part of the pretended inconveniences, I say, that everie worldlie commodity hath some discommodity, & inconveniences may be alleadged against the best actions and purposes that any man coulde ever haue intended or done: but this si a sound Maxime embraced by all

men: that, Any inconvenience is rather to be admitted then a manifest mischief.

Now let vs see what he is, or where he is, that may bee thought fitter then the Scottish King, to carrie the sweigh & the burthen of the Realme. An English-man he must bee, for it were too too bad, yea intolerable to defeate the King of his right, and to giue it to a stranger. Which therefore of the English competitors is of that extraordinarie wisdom, spirit, action, favour with the nobilitie & commons, power and force, who shalbe able with loue or feare to lead & drawe after him all the rest of the competitors? To mannage our state, yea our troubled state at home, to wage warres with the Scottish king, & with all the rest of our enemies abroad? Or what respects hath anie of them all, for whose sake all wee should vndertake so hard a marche, as to encounter with God? It is not my meaning to seek the disgrace, or to lay open the weakness of any noble personage: but if it be true, that men of good credite (who haue
reason

reason to know him) doe confidently report: All our Englishe competitors if in all kinde of respects they do freelic yeeld to him: yet in my iudgement they shall doe themselves no wrong. And I thinke that many of the state (if not al) be much of my minde, for they think and call the Scottish king too deepe, for his singular wit & wisdome as it should seeme. As for the hidden respects of our English competitors, what should we talke of them, seeing they came never yet to the tryal: they should much better appeare, if the best respected of them all, or they all iointlie had his place for a few yeeres to rule the vn-rulie Scots. It were then to be feared, that for want of respects, without any respect the Scottishe pricklers would ryde them: yea, I perswade my self it were by great ods a better choise for them to seek out this new kingdome of Guiana, or to raigne in Vtopia, then to vndertake the handling of such a heady people, though they had this advantage that they were Scottish-men borne. Yet he almost from

his cradle hath kept them in by feare, by authoritie or policie: hee hath revenged the oppressed, repressed mightily their deadlie feedes, & hath punished most severelie the mightiest offenders. All this hath hee done with that liking and good loue of his people, that none of his ancestors ever had: and there is strong hope that he will continue to do so still. Further to leaue the Scottish king, if they be compared with themselves, and (al their respects being laide in true ballance) be vprightlie iudged, which of them for respects shal go beyond the rest? will not every man think himself as fit as any other. And if the matter go not by mens right, but by their respects, is there not some men in Engl. that wil look to be as much respected, yea and a great deale more, then any of them all? Some men may answer, that the Parliament will decide it. And who shall call this Parliament? Or at whose commandement will the states assemble? for after that her Maiest. breath is out of her bodie (as the Erle of Leicester

ster did not stick to tell her) her highnes privie councell , then is no more a coun- cel. And I wish that all the counsellors & all the Nobilitie do not finde themselves otherwaies busied at that time, then to be calling of Parliaments . Yet admit that the councel may be most willing, that it may be a councel stil , and haue both the power and meanes to call the said Parli- ament: what? will we indeed be so stout as to call in question , and handle that matter then? which as we plainly do pro- fesse we are afraide to touche nowe? or will the longest sword & greatest power giue place and permit it to be a free Par- liament? Yet I will also yeelde that it may bee so, though the like were never seene nor heard of before . When the Parliament is set, will the matter then be presently cleered? no obiection made? no stop, hinderance, inconvenience, or res- pect alleadged against the first by the lat- ter cōpetitors? al without interruptiō wil go on peace-able? And the Scottish king (belike) will bee so faint-hearted as hee

dare not to demand his right then, notwithstanding that by everie of his Embassadors almost, hee renueth his claime now? Hee nor his friends will make no manner of sturre in the North, because he is, forsooth, too weake to matche any of the Competitors that bee now, notwithstanding that by the skilfull & wise iudgement of her Maiestie in the third yeere of her most happy raigne, the competitors that then were could not in respect of favor or of force be compared to his mother. No man wil presume to proclaime him, till such time as they shall heare what will be the resolution of the Parliament, whither it is given to some that he can like of or not. Neither York, Berwick nor Bishoprick, nor no place els there will receiue him: he must therefore keep himselfe close, because the matter doth not concerne him. All the Welsh gentlemen, as degenerated, will disregard their kindred, & whollie abandon him. Naturall blindnes or foolishnes is to be pitied, but wilfull blindnes and foolish-

lishnes is to be condemned. Yet to goe a little further. When the Parliament hath saide and resolved, will they all indeede take it for a finall iudgement? Nay I warrant you: All the Competitors that misse of the crowne, will bee highly displeased, and a great manie more that can pretend no claime: and it is like that all these will plainly disclaime it, and call it vnlawfull, and there will not be wanting some, that for privat respects wil egge on the competitors to take exceptions against it. Heere it may be imagined, that the Parliament will carefullie and providentlie provide for such issues: either by taking recognizaces of great summes of the parties grieved, for the keeping of the publick peace, or pledges for their loialty to the new elected Prince: or in case they refuse these things, by cōmitting theselves to prison: A iolly rōūd tale to remedy the matter, if they did forfeat their bonds in what court should they sue them? for it carrieth no sense, to thinke that they will answere in the lower Court, who do dis-

claime the highest: and take the best pledges that they can giue, will they bee more carefull of them, then desirous of the kingdome? But it might bee, that they would find meanes to set them at libertie, and if that shoulde not fall out so, durst the king elected, in case of rebellion, execute the pledges, or when they were executed, were he then anie surer? Nay, I dare assure you, in a more dangerous case: for the execution of great personages is never free from hatred & envy. The committing of themselves, I confesse, is the onlie way, if it haue this Proviso, that all their adherents, favourers & friendes bee at once laide vp with them. And who shall commit all these, and to what prison? for it is like they will bee much about two parts of England. The Lord graunt wee deceiue not our selues with our owne conceits: for our comfort or helpe that we may looke for, to come from other nations, it will be iust none at all. Rebellion in Ireland, all in armes in Scotland, God knoweth what in Wales.

And

And if anie realm should aide vs, al their aide must be this, that by their helpe wee are furthered to roote out ourselves: warres shal deuoure everie-where, & our safetie shall be no-where. The Protestant shall yarne for the bloode of the Protestant & the papist & athiest for the blood of them both: no regarde shall be had of profession, sexe or age. And, which of al miseries is most dolefull and lamentable, wee can no sooner expect an end of this tragedie, then our realme, or rather both realmes be, viterly extirped and brought to an end. For the Scottishe king can not in anie reason, thinke himselfe or his posteritie sure, so long as their professed enemy or anie of his posterity shall raignt kings in England, seeing he that taketh a mans living, will also seek to take his life, if he may come by it. And on the other part, the king of England must think that he standeth most ticklous and slippery, so long as either the Scottishe king, his posteritie, complices, or anie other of the competitors doe liue, according to the

speeche of the Poet, *Nulla fides regni socijs.*
 Then we which cannot nowe be content
 with the ordinance of God, shall suffer a-
 gainst our willes the lustes and pleasures
 of men: for beeing enemies to our selves
 & to God, how can we thinke that others
 will be our friends? Then for our prophane
 Sabothes we shall haue Sabothes e-
 nough: and a number of vs, who are not
 moved with this question now, may per-
 haps then for the same, and, it may bee in
 the maintenance of the wrongfull quer-
 rell be brought, not to rest & lay downe
 our bodies in honorable peace in our an-
 cestors graue, but to be buried in the bel-
 lies of the beasts, or in the mawes of the
 fowles of the aire. I am grieved to thinke
 or to talke of this lamentable subiect, it
 may please God that I shal not liue to see
 it debated. Therefore to surcease more
 writting of that which both mine eares
 do tinckle to heare: I will giue you that
 counsell and advise, which I could wishe
 (if it pleased God) all England did take,
 to witte, That seeing they who are bound

So it pleased
 God to call
 him to his he-
 venly king-
 dome in the
 time of his
 imprisonment
 in the Tower,
 where he was
 committed

in consciēce to cleare this question, haue
forfaken and abandoned it, and that the
tryall of it must certainelie come (the
Lord knoweth how soone) and that eve-
ry man is to satisfie his owne conscience,
because he shall bee accountable for his
owne doinges: that therefore I say, you
would never giue sleepe to your eies, nor
slumber to your eye-lids, till such time as
by conference with the most wise and re-
ligious (who will make conscience of
their speeches) by searche, by reading, &
by all other possible meanes, you haue
satisfied your self concerning the true ti-
tler. For I would bee loath that this my
opinion should be a ground for you, or
for others to rest vppon: Wise men will
build their actions vpon knowledge, &
not do as beastes doe, goe, whither they
are led. A foole (saith Salomon doeth
beleene every thing, but the wise wil con-
sider his steps, and will worke by vnder-
standing. It is the wisdom of the pru-
dent to vnderstand his way: but the foo-
lishnes of fooles is to be deceived. Good

for making
petition to
haue the title
to the crowne
decided by
Parliament.

Sir, if you doe see or discerne more then I, bee willing for conscience to communicate it with friendes, for all doe stand bound to yeelde to better reason. And they that haue any means of knowledge vouchsafed them from God, ought to vie them to the best benefite and instruction of others, & this they ought to do while they breath in this life: for there is neither conference, nor advise, nor counsell in the graue, whither wee must goe. By these meanes having the blessing & direction of God, we shall not stand amazed, and as out of our wits in the day of triall, but by certainty of knowledge & perswasion of a good conscience shall cleaue & ioine our selves to the best right. A man halfe warned, is whollie armed: but the armour of a good conscience is like to a brasen wall. Having thus both attained to this knowledge your self, and for conscience sake holpen others to the same, the second, third, fourth, fift, & all the rest of the parts of mine advise are, that stoutlie, and with a good & honest heart you
fol-

low the knowne trueth, without any respect of country, or kindred: for he whom we are to preferre before our children & wiues, hath assured vs that the vprightnesse of the vpright shall guide his way, & that the wicked shall bee taken in his owne wickednesse: That a man shall not be establisthed by wickednesse, and that the roote of the righteous shal not be remooved. So to conclude mine opinion & to make an end of this Treatise, I had rather choose to die in defence of the good right, then once wishe to liue to maintaine a bad quarrell. The Lord onlie wise, mercifull, and gracious cleare our vnderstandings & minds in this case, and strengthen and direct all our hearts, that wee in obedience to him, may giue the crowne and Realme with cheerefulnesse and peace to that man, to whome he hath beene pleased to giue the right. Amen.

FINIS